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VOLUME III

PART IV.—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR, TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU

(WITH TEN PLATES)

INCLUDING TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, TABLE OF CONTENTS, LIST OF PLATES,
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA, INTRODUCTION AND INDEX OF VOLUME III

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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VOLUME III—PART IV

No. XVII.—COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR,
TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 206.—TWO PANDYA COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR.

These are two of the four sets of Pāṇḍya copper plate grants discovered so far and are herein published for the first time. The Vēlvikuḍi grant of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ has been edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 to 309 and the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman, by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 to 75. These four, studied together, furnish a genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas from the early king Kaḍuṅḡṇ, who is said to have flourished at the close of the first Śaṅgam of Tamil poets, down to Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya¹, the contemporary of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, who reigned at the commencement of the 10th century A.D. With the invasion of the latter into the Pāṇḍya country and his capture of Madura, which earned for him the title 'Madiraikoṇḍa', the early Pāṇḍya power seems to have come to an end, and made room, for the next two centuries at least, for the unchallenged sway of the Chōḷas over the whole of Southern India.

The two grants under consideration have been thoroughly reported in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-1907, pp. 62 ff. Speaking of their provenance, Mr. Venkayya states "the plates are reported to have been found about 20 or 25 years ago (now nearly forty years) while digging for the foundation of the kitchen in the Viṣṇu temple at Śinnamaṇṇūr² in the Periyakulam taluka of the Madura district, and have since been purchased for deposit in the Madras Museum, from their owner Mr. Rajam Ayyar."

The bigger of the two sets consists of seven copper plates, measuring approximately 10" by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The thin rims which they once seem to have had, are now completely worn out. The plates are numbered on their obverse sides, with the Tamil numerals 2 to 8 close to the right side of the ring hole, thus showing that the first plate, whose obverse must have borne the number 1, is now lost. The last plate ending with the word *Karkuḷattil*, also shows that one or more plates which contained the last portion of the grant are lost. The ring which held the plates together and which, judging by the size of the ring holes in the middle of the left margin of each plate, must have been a little less than $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, is missing. The existing seven plates weigh 390 *tolas*.

The smaller set consists of three thin plates without rims, *viz.* the first, second and the last, with one or more plates of two written sides, missing between the second and the last. The first and the last plates are not numbered as in the larger set. The ring with which the

¹ See below, Table on p. 446. The three Pāṇḍya kings Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuṇḍavaṇ Māraṇ, his son Iḷaṅḡvadiyaraiaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ, and his son Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions of about the 8th century A.D. do not appear in this genealogy. They evidently belonged to a subordinate branch of the family and were perhaps kings of the southern Taṇjai country, ruling almost independently of the imperial Pāṇḍyas at Madura and sometimes fighting with them. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 and 137.

² Spelt Chinnamanur in the Alphabetical list of villages in the Madras Presidency.

plates were held together is lost. The ring-hole is not, as usual, bored in the middle of the left margin, but at the left bottom or the left top corner, according as the written side of the plate is odd or even—the sheets being meant evidently to be read by turning over the leaf, as in a palm-leaf manuscript without the necessity of actually removing the plate from the ring. The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3" and the three plates, together, weigh 51 *tolas*.

Both sets of plates use the Grantha alphabet wherever Sanskrit verses and Sanskrit words occur and the Tamil Vaṭṭeluttu where the Tamil language is employed. The palaeography of the smaller set of plates does not differ much from that of the Madras Museum plates of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ, who, as I have stated already in my paper on the Vēlvikūḍi grant, has to be identified with the donor of the latter and therefore also with Mārajañjadaiyaṇ of the Āṇaimalai inscription.¹

The remark made by Mr. Venkayya that the Madras Museum plates and the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates are nearer in point of time to the larger Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates than they are to the Vēlvikūḍi grant, has been already examined by me in the light of the palaeography of the plates under publication. I have noticed that the difference in the formation of the Grantha characters of the Vēlvikūḍi, the Madras Museum and the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates all of which in my opinion belong to the same period, should be due to their having been written at different periods later than their Vaṭṭeluttu portions. In the matter of their Vaṭṭeluttu writing, the smaller and the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates are far separated by time and the palaeographical differences are apparent. The formation of the initial vowel *a*, the *e*-mark in consonants, the letters *na*, *ma*, and *ya*,—of which the two latter, it is surprising to find, resemble the *ma* and *ya* of the Vēlvikūḍi and the Āṇaimalai inscriptions,—show marked differences. The differences which the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates and the Madras Museum plates present, except in the formation of the letter *ya*, are very slight. They are almost nil. Consequently, Mr. Venkayya's identification of the second king Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman mentioned in the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates with Māravarman Pallava-bhañjana of the Madras Museum plates and that of his son—his unnamed son who was victorious at Marudūr—with Jaṭilavarman Neduñjadaiyaṇ of the same plates, becomes untenable even on the grounds of palaeography. This point will become clearer in the sequel where the identification of the kings mentioned in the smaller and the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates is discussed.

The Sanskrit portion of the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṇ plates begins with a fragmentary verse in which the king (perhaps Pāṇḍya) boasts of having subdued the ocean—an attribute which the mythical Pāṇḍya kings generally assumed in consequence, perhaps, of their sea-bordering kingdom, their naval power, and their sea-borne trade, from the earliest historical times. From him were descended the kings known as Pāṇḍyas (v. 2) 'who engraved their edicts on the Himalaya mountain' and whose family-priest was the sage Agastya (v. 3). One of the Pāṇḍya kings is said to have occupied the throne of Indra (v. 4) and another to have shared it with that god, and still another, to have caused the Ten-Headed (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa of Lankā) to sue for peace (v. 5). One was a conqueror of the epic hero Arjuna (v. 7)². Verse 8 refers to a king who cut off his own head in order to protect that of his master and also to a certain Sundara-Pāṇḍya who had mastered all the sciences. Many kings of this family had performed Vēdic sacrifices *Rājasūya* and *Āsvamedha* (v. 9).³

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 317 f.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 59 and foot-note 4.

³ The Tamil portion gives many more of such attributes to the Pāṇḍya ancestors; see below p. 443.

In this family was born king Arikêśarin. His son was Jatila; his son Râjasimha (II); his son Varaguna (I); and his son Śrî-Mâra entitled Śrîvallabha (v. 10). Śrî-Mâra conquered Mâyâ-Pândya, the kings of Kêrala and Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha (v. 11). His son was Parântaka the younger brother of Varaguna II (v. 12), who fought a battle at Kharagiri and captured Ugra (v. 13). His wife was Vâṇavaṇmahâdêvî (v. 15) and their son was Râjasimha (III), the banner (both) of the solar and the lunar races (vv. 16 and 17).

A favourite of this king was the Brâhman Parântaka, the son of Śrêsthîsarman, the grandson of the Vêdic scholar Bhâskara (v. 21) and the great-grandson of Śrêsthî, a Seṅguṭi-Kausîka of Puttûr (vv. 20 and 21). The ancestors of this Parântaka were the followers of Âgnivêśya-kalpa—evidently the science of medicine—and his maternal grandfather was the famous Ūraśarman of the Maudgalya lineage, of Syandanagrâma. To Śrêsthîsarman, king Parântaka Vîranârayana had given the village of Maniyâchi, surnamed Tîsaichchudarmangala in Vada-Kalavali-nâdu. The ruling king Râjasimha (III) gave to the Brâhman Parântaka, in the 16th year of his reign, while encamped at Chûlal in Râjasimha-kulakkil, the *agrahâra* Narcheygai-Puttûr surnamed Mandaragauravamangalam in Ala-nâdu.

The *viññapti* of the grant was the councillor and poet Jatila (v. 33) of the Atri-gôtra, while the *âññapti* was Kûrrangôn, a servant of king Mâravarman (v. 34). The *kudikâval* was Nakkaṅkumân, son of the headman of Kûra in Kil-Vêmba-nâdu, who was a minister and the chief of the elephant forces. Nakkaṅ-Kâda, Kôn-Vêlân and Patârañ-Chôlai were three officers who witnessed the demarcation of the boundary line: Verse 37 supplies for the king the surname Abhimânamêru.

The composer of the *prasasti* was Vâsudêva, a friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu (v. 38).

The Tamil portion which begins with line 76 also praises the Pândya kings who belonged to the lunar race and bore the crest of the double fish, had Agastya as their family preceptor and counted the god (Śiva) as one of their family members. Many other incidents, mostly mythical, are also registered of some of the early kings: such as, (1) churning the ocean for nectar; (2) bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day; (3) going round the earth; (4) sending embassy to the gods on many occasions; (5) taking away the necklace of Pâkaśâsana (Indra); (6) mastering the Tamil language of the south; (7) driving away the sea by throwing a javelin; (8) giving a thousand golden hills (*Mêru*) in charity; (9) founding the town of Madura and erecting a wall round it; (10) studying Tamil and Sanskrit (*vaḍa-moli*) as even to excel Paṇḍits; (11) leading elephants in the Bhârata war against the Mahârathas; (12) relieving Vijaya (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; (13) engraving the victorious symbols of the fish, the tiger, and the bow on the top of the Northern mountain, *i.e.*, the Himalayas; (14) getting huge giants to work for them in building many tanks; (15) cutting off the heads of two kings in the battles fought at Chitramayari and Talaiyâlaṅgânam; (16) getting the Mahâbhârata translated into Tamil; and (17) establishing the Tamil Śaṅgam in the town of Madura. After these kings had passed away, there came a king named Parâṅkuśa who saw the back of (*i.e.*, defeated) the Chêra king at Nelvêli and the Pallava king at Śaṅkaramaṅgai. His grandson was Râjasimha, after whom came a king named Varaguna-Mahârâja. The exact relationship of this Varaguna-Mahârâja to his predecessor Râjasimha has not been recorded. Râjasimha's son was Parachakrakôlâhala who was successful in battles fought at Kunnûr, Siṅgalam

(Ceylon) and Viliñam and who at Kudamûkkil won a deadly battle against the combined armies of the Gaṅga, Pallava, Chôla, Kaliṅga, Magadha and other kings. Next came Varagunavarman, whose relationship to Parachakrakôlâhala is also not specified. His younger brother was Parântakaṇ Śadaiyaṇ, who fought battles at Sennilam, Kharagiri and Pennâgaḍam in the Koṅgu country. To him and his queen Vāṇavaṇmahâdêvî was born Râjasimha surnamed Vikatavâdava and Mandaragaurava. This latter fought a battle at Ulappinimaṅgalam, drove the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) in a battle fought at Naippûr, won a battle at Koḍumbai, burnt the town of Vañji on the northern bank of the Ponni (Kâvērî) river and destroyed the lord of the southern Tañjai country at Nâval.

In the 14th year opposite to the second year of his reign (*i.e.*, the 16th year as stated in the Sanskrit portion), this Râjasimha, while he was encamped at Chûlal, a town founded by himself in the district of Râjaśingapperuṅgulakkîl or Râjasimhakulakkîl, granted to the Brâhman Parântaka, the village Narcheygai-Puttûr in Ala-nâḍu, re-naming it Mandaragauravamaṅgalam. As in the Sanskrit portion, lines 147 to 155 seem to record that Bhâskaran-Setti (Śrêshṭhisarman of the Sanskrit portion) the son of Bhâskara and the foremost of the Ombâlvas of the Âgnivêśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kausika-gôtra (Śeṅguti-Kausika of the Sanskrit portion) dwelling in Puttûr, in the Mîygundâru (district) of Koluvâr-kûṛram (division), had received from Parântaka Vîranârâyana, the village of Tîsaichchudarmaṅgalam in the Vadakalavali-nâḍu (province). From the Sanskrit passage, we learn that Maniyâchi, which may be identified with the well-known junction station on the South Indian Railway, was surnamed Tîsaichchudarmaṅgalam. The *vinnappam* (*viññapti* in Sanskrit) *i.e.*, the one who made the formal request to the king, was, according to the Tamil portion, a certain Śadaiyapirâṇ-Bhattasômayâjin of Pullamaṅgalam in Sôla-nâḍu : and the *ajñapti*, as in the Sanskrit portion, was Kûṛrangôn, a native of Vêmbarrûr in Kalavali-nâḍu. Kumân or Nakkan-Kumân¹ (as he is called in Sanskrit) of the village of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâḍu, was the *kudikâval-nâyakaṇ* or the chief revenue officer. The three officers, who, according to the Sanskrit portion, were to witness the demarcation of the boundary line, are stated in the Tamil portion, to have been the *kaṇakkar* or accountants, the demarcation itself being done by the *nâttâr*, *i.e.*, the district people of Ala-nâḍu. Of the boundaries, the eastern boundary was the Śuruli-âru (river). The southern boundary of the village granted, which commences at the end of the eighth plate, must have been continued on the next, which is however missing.

Compared with the Vêlvikudî plates of Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ, we find that the account given in the bigger Śinnamaṇûr plates includes, as it should, many later Pândya kings. The mild Purânic tradition of the Vêlvikudî plates connecting the Pândyas with Agastya, the churning of the milk ocean, and the sharing with Indra of half his throne and necklace, grows here into a big list with seven or eight other extra items added to it. Some of these are interesting. For instance, the going round the earth, and the bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, are feats attributed to Vâli, king of the monkeys¹. Again, calling the aid of huge giants to build tanks in the Pândya land also seems to suggest the near connection which the Pândya country had with Ceylon, the land of Râvaṇa. The driving away of the sea by throwing a javelin is perhaps a reminiscence of a similar feat ascribed to the epic hero Râma. The leading of elephants against the Mahârathas in the Bhârata war is a fact which is commemorated also in literature, of the Chêra king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ,

¹ Vâlmiki-Râmâyana, Uttarakânḍa, chapter 34.

who is said to have fed the soldiers in the Mahābhārata war. Some of the other attributes, however, are of much historical value. The mastery over the Tamil language of the south, the foundation of the town of Madura and the erection of a wall round it, the studying of Tamil and Sanskrit as even to excel Pandits, the initiating of the translation of the Mahābhārata into Tamil and the establishing of the Tamil Śaṅgam (academy) in the town of Madura—these, clearly indicate the close connection the Pāṇḍya kings had with the development of the Tamil language and the foundation of the town of Madura. The battles of Chitramuyari and Talaiyālaṅgāṇam mentioned of one of the unnamed Pāṇḍya kings must be a reference to Nedūñjeliyaṇ who is spoken of in literature as the hero who gained success in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam by defeating the Chōla and the Chēra kings. Our plates add that the heads of these two kings were actually cut off and this was not in one battle as literature suggests, but in two, *viz.*, Chitramuyari and Talaiyālaṅgāṇam.¹

The genealogies of the Pāṇḍya kings as given in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions differ widely ; but still as both refer to the same grant, which was made in the sixteenth year of the same king, there cannot be any room for doubt. Consequently, the statements of the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions have to be supplemented one with the other, in order to obtain a complete genealogy (*see* Table D in the attached sheet of genealogical tables).

The smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, after the usual invocation to god Purushōttama (Vishṇu) (v. 1), confer a benediction on the family of the Moon, in which were born the (Pāṇḍya) kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (v. 2).

In that family of the Moon, after many kings of great deeds had expired, came forth a son of Jayantavarman, the great king (*paramēśvara*) Arikēsari Asamasaman Alāṅghya-vikrama Akālakāla Māravarman. His son was one who fought battles at Marudūr and Kuvalaimalai. Here comes a break and one or two plates on which the genealogy should have been continued, are lost. What is left on the last plate treats only of the description of the boundary line of the granted land or village, and mentions the Bhagavatī temple of Korraṇputtūr. The *ānatli* of the grant was Tāyaṇ Śiṅgaṇ, the *uttaramantri* of Kuṇḍūr in Kuṇḍūr-kūṛram of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. The *purāṅkāval* of this village was eighty-five *kalams* (of paddy). The king himself, as in the Vēlvikuḍi plates (ll. 151-152), made a declaration and caused the copper-plate grant to be executed. It may be noted that Korraṇputtūr mentioned above, also figures among the boundaries of Vēlvikuḍi. The record was written (or witnessed) by Arikēsari, son of Pāṇḍi-Perumbāṇaikkāraṇ who also wrote the Madras Museum plates.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to have clearly before us the genealogical tables supplied by the four Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants, *viz.*, (A) the Vēlvikuḍi grant, (B) the Madras Museum plates, (C) the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates and (D) the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, severally. For convenience of reference, it will be noted that the numbers given to the kings in the Vēlvikuḍi table are repeated in the other tables in cases where, for reasons explained in the sequel, the kings are identical.

¹ For further information on the Pāṇḍya who fought the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam, *see* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chapter 4.



PĀṆḌYA GENEALOGY

(A)

From the Vēlvikuḍi grant.

Pāṇḍya : a mythical king of a past *kalpa* born in this *kalpa* as Budha, son of the Moon.

Purādravas.

In his family

Palyāgasālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḷudi : an *Adhirāja* of the Pāṇḍyas.

Inter-regnum in the Pāṇḍya country.

The Kali king Kaḷabhraṇ : drove away numberless *Adhirājas* before him and took possession of the Earth (*i.e.*, usurped the Pāṇḍya country).(1) *Pāṇḍyādhirāja* Kaḍuṅḍōḡ : recovered the Pāṇḍya country from the enemy, *i.e.*, the usurper Kaḷabhraṇ.

(2) Avanichōḷāmaṇi Māravarman.

(3) Śeḷiyaṇ Vāṇavaṇ Śēndaṇ : the over-lord of the hill chiefs.

(4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman : won a battle at Pāḷi ; conquered Vīlvēli at Nelvēli ; destroyed the Paravas ; annihilated the race of the people of Kuṇu-nāḍu ; gained victory at Sēṇṇilam and fought the battle of Paliyūr against the Kēraḷa king.

(5) Śaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra : lord of the Koṅgas ; entitled Tennan, Vāṇavaṇ, Śēmbiyaṇ, Sōḷaṇ and the beautiful Karunāṭakaṇ ; defeated Āyavēḷ at Marudūr ; gained victories at Sēṅḡōḍu and Puḍān-kōḍu ; and destroyed the Mahārathas at Maṅḡalapura.

(6) Tērmāraṇ Rājasiṁha (I) : fought a battle at Neḍuvayal ; defeated his enemies at Kuṇumaḍai ; destroyed their power at Maṇṇikurichi and Tirumaṅgai ; defeated insubordinate chiefs at Pūvalūr ; won a victory at Koḍumbāḷūr ; crushed the Pallava at Kuḷumbūr and at Periyālūr ; crossed the Kāvīri (Kāvēri) and conquered Maḷa-Koṅgam ; reached Pāṇḍi-Koḍumiḍi ; contracted relationship with Gaṅḡarāja ; renewed Kūḍal, Vāḷji and Kōḷi ; and married a daughter of the Maḷava king.

(7) Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ : entitled Koṅḡarkōḇ, king of the Nēriyar (*i.e.*, the Chōḷas) ; Paṇḍitavatsala, Kalippagai, Puṇappāḷiyaṇ, Śiṇachōḷaṇ ; Śrīvaraṇ ; Tennan ; and Vāṇavaṇ ; defeated the Kāḍava king at Pennāḡaḍam on the northern bank of the Kāvēri ; drove away Āyavēḷ and the Kuṇumbas at Nāṭṭukkuṇumbu ; married a daughter of Gaṅḡarāja and renewed the grant of Vēlvikuḍi. His minister fought a battle at Venbai in which the opponents were the Vallabha and the Pūrvarājar (kings of the East).

(B)

From the Madras Museum plates.

In the Pāṇḍya race whose first ancestor was the Moon and whose family priest was Agastya.

(6) Māravarman : destroyed the Pallava in battle (Pallavabhaṇjana).

(7) Jaṭilavarman (Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ) : entitled Tennan, Vāṇavaṇ, Śēmbiyaṇ ; fought battles at Viṇṇam, Śeḷiyakkūḍi and Vēllūr ; defeated Adiyaṇ at Ayirūr, Puḡaliyūr and Āyiravēli, on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri ; marched against the allied armies of the Pallavas and the Kēraḷas ; captured the king of Western Koṅḡu ; unfurled his banner at Kūḍal (Madura) ; subdued the Koṅḡu country and became famous throughout the Gaṅḡa kingdom ; entered Kāñchivāḷḷappār and built a temple there for Viṣṇu ; destroyed Vīḷiṇam, whose fort was as strong as that of Laṅkā and subdued the king of Vēṇ (Vēṇāḍu) ; built a wall round Karavandapuram and came back to (his capital) Kūḍal.

(C)

From the smaller Śiṅḡamaṇūr plates.

In the race of the Moon were born the Pāṇḍya kings whose family priest was Agastya.

(3) Jayantavarman.

(4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Alaṅḡhyavikrama Akālakala, Māravarman, a *paramēśvara*.

(5) An un-named son who fought battles at Marudūr and Kuḷaimalai.

[Plate or plates lost after this.]

(D)

From the bigger Śiṅḡamaṇūr plates.

The Pāṇḍyas were descended from the Moon ; had Agastya for their family priest. In this family were born (a) a king who subdued and relieved Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu, (b) Sundara-Pāṇḍya, a helmsman in the ocean of *Sāstras*, (c) a king whose surname was Pāḷiyaṇ, (d) a king who stood firmly in the field of battle at Pāḷi and obtained the title Pañchavaṇ, (e) the builder of Madura with its surrounding wall, (f) a king who cut off the heads of two kings in the battles at Chitramuyari and Talaiyālaṅḡnam.

(6) Arikēsari Parāṅkuṣa : king of the Pañchavas ; defeated the Chēra king at Nelvēli and the Pallava king at Sankaramaṅgai.

(7) Jaṭila

(8) Rājasiṁha (II)

(10) Śrī-Māra, Śrīvallabha, Parachakrakoḷāhala : fought successful battles at Kuṇṇūr, Śiṅḡalam and Vīḷiṇam ; defeated at Kuḍamūkil the Gaṅḡa, Pallava, Chōḷa, etc. ; conquered Māyā-Pāṇḍya, the Kēraḷa, the Śiṁhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha.

(11) Varaguna II or Varagunavarman : succeeded to the throne in A.D. 862.

(12) Parāntaka Vīraṇārāyaṇa, Śaḍaiyaṇ : fought battles at Kharagiri, Sēṇṇilam, Nilambēr and Kuḷumbūr ; destroyed Pennāḡaḍam ; won battles in the Koṅḡu country ; subdued the whole of Jambudvīpa (Nāḡaitīva) and married Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi.

(13) Rājasiṁha (III) : entitled Vikatavāḍavaṇ, 'the banner of both the solar and the lunar races' ; fought battles at Ulappiṇimaṅḡalam, Naippūr and Koḍumbai ; burnt Vāḷji on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri ; fought a battle at Nāval where he defeated the lord of southern Tāḷjai and was the donor of Nāṇḡeyaiḡaḡuttūr or Maudaragaṇava-maṅḡalam.

The description of the three kings given in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates enables us to identify at once the last who fought the battle at Marudūr with (5) Śadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra of the Vēlvikudi plates and his father with (4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman of the same. From this it further follows that Jayantavarman the father of Arikēsari Asamasaman must be identified with (3) Śeliyaṇ Śēndaṇ. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar suggests that Jayantavarman is perhaps a Sanskritized form of Śēndaṇ. Thus the three kings referred to in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr record, must be Nos. (3), (4) and (5) of Mr. Venkayya's genealogical table given at page 54 of part II of the Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1908. It is, therefore, difficult to see how or why Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya must have been inclined to attribute the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates to Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śadaiyaṇ of the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates (D), who comes three generations after (7) of the Vēlvikudi grant, especially after seeing that the three names mentioned in the smaller set are evidently only the first three names of what might have been a longer genealogy, similar to that of the Vēlvikudi grant or the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates. The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, palaeographically, are almost of the same period, and if, as proved in my paper on the Vēlvikudi grant, the donor of the Madras Museum plates is identical with the donor of the Vēlvikudi grant, it follows that the donor of the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates too must be either Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ of the Vēlvikudi grant or an immediate successor of his. So, the missing plate or plates after the second in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr set should have contained the names of (5) Śadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra, (6) Tērmāraṇ, (7) Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ and perhaps also his successor Rājasimha II. It is very disappointing that these plates are lost; else, we would have had enough material to compare the genealogies and to identify the names.

In comparing next, the historical Pāṇḍya genealogy derived from the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates with that of the Vēlvikudi grant, one has to be guided not only by the common names and titles of kings belonging to about the same age, but also by the common battles fought and the common enemies conquered by them—though it is not impossible that these may be repeated in history. Palaeographical similarities no doubt often help in the identification of names but sometimes they also fail when the particular inscription from which we draw the inference happens to be a copy of some older document, written in a later hand. Applying these methods we find that the first king Arikēsari of the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, who is said to have fought the battle of Nelvēli against a Chēra king, will at first appear to be the same as Arikēsari Māravarman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikudi grant whose enemy at Nelvēli was a certain Vilvēli' (perhaps a Chēra). But Arikēsari of (A) did not, however, fight with the Pallava king as did Arikēsari mentioned in (D). The battle of Śāṅkara-maṅgai where Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari of (D) defeated the Pallavas is not mentioned of No. 4 in (A) but Tērmāraṇ (No. 6) a grandson of Arikēsari (No. 4) is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power. Again, the title Parāṅkuśa, given to Arikēsari in the Tamil portion of (D) makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikēsari Māravarman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikudi plates. So, it has to be assumed, at least hypothetically, that a second battle was fought at Nelvēli by Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari, like the first by his grandfather, Asamasaman Arikēsari, against the very same or a different Chēra king. The fact that Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari's grandson is called Rājasimha in (D) suggests the possibility of

¹ Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar suggests, however, that Vilvēli here may probably be synonymous with Pallava, since Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, in his *Periya-Tirumoli* makes Villavaṇ synonymous with Pallava. But it must be noted that Vilvēli is different from Villavaṇ.

Arikēsari himself being also called Rājasimha, which title we actually find for the first time given to Têrmāraṇ in the Vêlvikuḍi plates. Thus, the battle of Śāṅkaramaṅgai and the defeat of Pallavamalla and a possible second battle at Nelvēli are the only common factors that might enable us to connect the genealogy of the bigger Śiṅṅamaṇḍr plates with that of the Vêlvikuḍi grant. Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari must therefore be No. 6 Têrmāraṇ, the contemporary of Pallavamalla (Cir. A. D. 760) as we learn from the Vêlvikuḍi grant. If this is admitted, Têrmāraṇ (No. 6) of (A) must be presumed to have also had the titles Arikēsarin and Parāṅkuśa, to have defeated the Pallavas at Śāṅkaramaṅgai before actually crushing Pallavamalla in the battles at Kuḷumbûr and Periyalûr and to have fought a second battle at Nelvēli against an unnamed Chêra.¹

Of king Jaṭila, the second in the genealogical list (D) given above, nothing is stated in the plates in the Sanskrit portion, the Tamil portion omitting his name altogether. On the hypothesis, however, of Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa being identical with Têrmāraṇ of the Vêlvikuḍi grant, Jaṭila will have to be identified with (No. 7) Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ, the donor of the Vêlvikuḍi grant—it being inexplicable, however, why this king of whom we hear so much in the Vêlvikuḍi and in the Madras Museum plates, should have been mentioned without any remarks in the Sanskrit portion and omitted altogether in the Tamil portion. The other kings who follow are later names in the Pāṇḍya genealogy and their achievements are detailed in the genealogical table (D) given above.

The successor of Jaṭila was Rājasimha (II)² of whom nothing is stated. After him came Varaguṇa or Varaguṇa-Mahârāja of great prowess who was separated by two generations or roughly 50 years from Têrmāraṇ (No. 6 of A) the contemporary of Pallavamalla Nandi-varman already mentioned. Consequently, he should have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Though very scanty information is supplied about this king by the bigger Śiṅṅamaṇḍr plates, still he is familiar to students of epigraphy and we know of very many references in inscriptions to Varaguṇa or Varaguṇa-Mahârāja³, sometimes also called Mârañjadaiyaṇ. We learn, e.g., that Varaguṇa, for the first time, carried his conquests northward into the Chôla country against Idavai⁴ on which occasion also he should perhaps have destroyed the fortified walls of Vêmbil (Vêmbarrûr). Varaguṇa thence pushed further north into the Tondai-nâḍu making there a grant from his camp at Araiśûr, a village on the banks of the Pennar to the temple of Erichchâ-Udaiyâr at Ambâsamudram in the Tinnevely district. Again, an inscription at Kaḷugumalai⁵, also in the Tinnevely district, supports the above statement by referring to an expedition of the king (herein called only Mârañjadaiyaṇ) against Arividûrkkôṭṭai and casually mentions the village Pûṇḍamali (i.e., Poonamalli) in Tondai-nâḍu. The Tiruviśalûr inscription dated in the 4th year of the reign of Varaguṇa-Mahârāja might also belong to this same king⁶. The Aivarmalai inscription which supplies the initial date Śaka 784 or A.D. 862 to Varaguṇa must refer to the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 293 and 295.

² Têrmāraṇ was Rājasimha I.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 86 f.

⁴ No. 690 of 1905.

⁵ No. 43 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Collection* for 1908.

⁶ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar thinks that this belongs to Varaguṇavarman II, but the title Mahârāja added to his name in the Tiruviśalûr record leaves no doubt that he is the first of that name.

later Varagunavarman who was the grandson of Varaguna I. An inscription from Tiruvellārai which is dated in his 13th year, and where the king is called Mārāñjadaiyaṇ supplies astronomical details for the verification of the date. The actual calculation, worked out by Mr. Sewell at page 253 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, fits in with the 13th year of this Varagunavarman II, viz., Monday the 22nd November, A.D. 874. This is the second sure date in the Pāṇḍya chronology, the first being A.D. 769-70 (or thereabouts) of the Āṇamalai inscription, for king Mārāñjadaiyaṇ Parāntaka, Neduñjadaiyaṇ, the donor of the Vēlvikudi grant and of the Madras Museum plates. Thus the initial date of Varaguna II got from the Aivarmalai inscription, is A.D. 862 and the nearest possible date of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ is A.D. 770. The difference between these two dates *i.e.* 92 years, suggests at least four generations and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has, accordingly in his genealogical table of the Pāṇḍyas given at page 54 of his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, Part II, taken the Varaguna of the Aivarmalai inscription to be the second of that name who, according to the Udayēndiram plates, killed the Gaṅga king Prithivīpati I in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbhakōnam, being himself subsequently defeated by the last Pallava king Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavarman son of Nripatūṅga¹. Leaving alone the second Varagunavarman for the present, it may be stated that in the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja I the Pāṇḍya dominion was largely extended as to include in it the Chōla and the Pallava country right up to the bank of the Pennār in Tondai-nādu. This invasion could not have been allowed to pass without severe resistance by the kings concerned, viz., the Chōlas and the Pallavas, and consequently, we see that in the next reign king Śrīvallabha (10) had to fight fierce battles, three of them being at Kuḍamūkkil, *i.e.*, Kumbhakōnam in the heart of the Chōla country, against perhaps the allied Chōlas, Gaṅgas and Pallavas.² This was perhaps the commencement of the struggle. It perhaps ended only with the defeat of Varaguna II, by the Pallava king Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, near Kumbhakōnam, where his Gaṅga ally Prithivīpati I also died. The Chōla enemies of the Pāṇḍyas, now turned against their allies, the Pallavas Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I overran the Tondai-nādu in the north and occupied it. But the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha III (No. 13), the son of Parāntaka Śadaiyaṇ, defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbālūr) the seat of one of the powerful Chōla subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Chōlas) at Nāval. Āditya's son Parāntaka I defeated this Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya, the nephew of Varaguna II and captured the Pāṇḍya capital Madura, thereby acquiring for himself the well-known title Madiraikoṇḍa. The mention of Māyā-Pāṇḍya as in rebellious union against Śrīvallabha (10) and that of Ugra (perhaps also a Pāṇḍya king) against Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śadaiyaṇ (12) show internal dissensions in the Pāṇḍya family which must have been the cause of their eventual downfall. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka appears to have courted the friendship of the rising powerful Chōla and to have married Vāṇavanmahādēvī, evidently a Chōla princess, as the title 'the flag of both the lunar and the solar races'³ borne by his son Rājasimha clearly shows.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, p. 64, paragraph 9.

² He carried his conquest also into Sinhala. The *Mahāvamsa* says that Aggabōdhi and Śēna killed Mahinda and his brothers who returned to the island from the opposite coast.

³ A similar title was assumed by Varaguna of the Trichinopoly cave inscription. The solar family to which he belonged on his mother's side, may have been the Chōla.

Of the topographical and other proper names mentioned in both the sets of Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr plates, viz., Chitramuyari, Talaiyālaṅgānam, Nelvēli, Śaṅkaramaṅgai, Kuṇṇūr, Śiṅgālam, Viliṇam, Kuḍamūkkil, Sēṇṇilam, Kharagiri, Pennāgaḍam, Koṅgu, Ulappinimaṅgālam, Taṇjai, Naippūr, Koḍumbai, Vaṇji [on the northern bank of the Poṇṇi (Kāvēri) river], Nāval, Chūlal, Rājasiṅgapperuṅgulaḱḱil, Naṛchēygaiputtūr, Aḷa-nāḍu, Puttūr, Miḡuṇḍāru, Koḷuvūr-kūṛram, Maṇiyāchi or Tiśaichehudaṛmaṅgālam, Vada-Kaḷavāli-nāḍu, Pullamaṅgālam, Śōla-nāḍu, Vēmbarrūr in Kaḷavāli-nāḍu, Kūra in Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu, Śuruli-āru (river), Marudūr, Kuḷaḷaimalai, Koṛraṇputtūr, Kuṇḍūr and Aṇḍa-nāḍu, almost all are familiar and known to us from inscriptions. The first two are not identified, the second being known only to literature. Kuḍamūkkil is Kumbhakōṇam; Viliṇam is a port in the Travancore State; Śiṅgālam is Ceylon; Pennāgaḍam is a village in the Tanjore District; Koṅgu comprises the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore; Taṇjai is the well-known Tanjore; Koḍumbai is Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. Rājasiṅgakuḷaḱḱil may be identified with Rājasiṅgamaṅgālam in the Śivagaṅga Zamīndāri. It is called Varaguṇamaṅgālam in its inscriptions. Naṛchēygaiputtūr must be identical with Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr in the Periyakuḷam taluk where these plates were obtained. The stone inscriptions of the place, however, show that it bore the name Arikēsarinaḷlūr and was a *brahmadēya* in Aḷa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam.¹ A hamlet of it was Koṛraṇputtūr, identical, perhaps, with the native village of the donee.² Mention is also made in stone inscriptions of the places Mandaragauravamaṅgālam and Arapadaśēkhamaṅgālam, which had assemblies similar to that of Arikēsarinaḷlūr that met together in a common place, evidently showing that these places were not far distant from each other.³ Aḷa-nāḍu is the territorial division in which Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr was situated. Kōṭṭārpōḷil-Puttūr is identical with Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad district and is the headquarters of a taluk. From No. 90 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908, we learn that it was situated in Miḡuṇḍāru in Koḷuvūr-kūṛram, which is the description given of Kōṭṭārpōḷil-Puttūr in these plates. Pullamaṅgālam is a village in the Pāpanāśam taluk of the Tanjore district. It was situated in Kīlār-kūṛram. Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu is a subdivision of the Pāṇḍya country in which Tinnevely was situated. As such, the village of Kūra must be looked for near about Tinnevely. Śuruli-āru is the river that takes its rise from the Śuruli-malai, 7 miles from Cumbum in the Periyakuḷam taluk of the Madura district, and flows past Cumbum and Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr and joins the Vaigai. Aṇḍa-nāḍu is that territorial division of the Pāṇḍya country in which Periyakōṭṭai in the Dindigul taluk was. Hence Kuṇḍūr and Koṛraṇputtūr must be traced out in that locality.

Larger Śiṇṇamaṇṇūr Plates.

TEXT.⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 30, *Upajāti*; V. 2, *Vaiśvadēvi*; Vv. 3, 4, 5, 8 and 31, *Upēndra-vajrā*; Vv. 6, 7, 13, 27 and 38, *Pushpitāgrā*; Vv. 9, 11, 14, 16 and 23, *Śālīni*; Vv. 12 and 32, *Drutavilambitā*; Vv. 15, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34 and 36, *Anushtubh*; Vv. 25, 33 and 35, *Indravajrā*; V. 24, *Mandākrāntā*; Vv. 10 and 20, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitā*; V. 21, *Sragdharā*; and Vv. 17, 18, 19 and 37, *Vasantatīlakā*].

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907, Nos. 427, 428, 432 and 441.

² *Ibid.* No. 442.

³ *Ibid.* Nos. 439 and 452.

⁴ From the original plates and a set of ink-impressions.

Second Plate : First Side.¹

- 1 लङ्गतरंगावलिभंगरंगत्पतंगनक्षत्रशशांकरत्नः [1*] कल्पावसानक्षुभि-
- 2 तोपि सिन्धुर्यत्पादपीठश्रियमाललम्बे² ॥ [1*] वंशस्तस्यासीद्विक्रमाका-
- 3 न्तविश्वशत्रुक्षत्रश्रीशर्वरीसप्तसप्तिः [1*] पुण्यश्लोकानाम् भूरिधानावृ³पाणा-
- 4 म् यत्रोत्पन्नानान्धर्मपत्नी धरित्री ॥ [2*] हताखिलारातिमहीपती-
- 5 नां हिमाचलारोपितशासनानाम् [1*] पुरोहितोभूदवनीपतीनाम्
- 6 यदुद्भवानाम् भगवानगस्त्यः [3*] निहत्य देवासुरयुद्धमध्ये महा-
- 7 सुरान्मानधनो यदुद्धः [1*] अधोनिषण्णामरलोकमेकस्सुरेन्द्रसिंहासन-
- 8 मध्यतिष्ठत् ॥ [8*] जयाय दौत्यन्त्रिदिवालयानाञ्जगाम कश्चित्कृतधीः कृतज्ञः [1*] द-
- 9 शाननन्सन्धिपरश्चकार⁴ नरेश्वरः कश्चिदखण्डिता⁵ ज्ञः ॥ [9*] नरसखत-
- 10 नयापतिर्नरेन्द्रस्त्रिभुवनगीतगुणास्त्रिलोचनश्च [1*] मथितजलनिधिश्च

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 यत्र जातः[*] क्षितिपतिरप्रतिमोप्यगस्त्यशिष्यः ॥ [6*] विदलितवल्यस्सुरे-
- 12 न्द्रमौलौ हतहरिहारविभूषितश्च यदुद्धः [1*] कुरुपतिबल[तू]लकालव[हि]-
- 13 र्जितविजयश्च यदुद्धवो नरेन्द्रः ॥ [6*] चकर्त्त कश्चिन्नजमुत्तमांगं गुरु-
- 14 न्नजम् पालयितुं [य]दुद्धः [1*] समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्धवस्सुन्दर-
- 15 पाण्ड्यनामा ॥ [८*] यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्वमेधैरिष्टाने-
- 16 कैर्देवभूयं प्रपन्नाः⁷ [1*] संख्यातीतास्सार्वभौमा नरेन्द्राः कस्ता-
- 17 न्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ [९*] तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्व्वशे व-
- 18 शी श्रीनिधिस्तत्पुत्रो जटिलस्सुतो[५*]स्य नृपतिः[*] श्रिराजासिंहः कृती [1*] प्राज्ञः[*] स्फी-
- 19 तपराक्रमो वरगुणस्तस्यात्मजस्तत्सुतः[*] श्रीमारः[*] श्रवणीयकीर्तिरजि-
- 20 तः[*] श्रीवल्लभो भूपतिः ॥ [१०*] मायापाण्ड्यं केरळं सिंहळे[न्द्र]ञ्जित्वा संखे⁸

Third Plate : First Side.⁹

- 21 पल्लवम् वल्लभम् [1*] एकच्छत्राम् मेदिनीमेकवीरः[] प्रारक्षयः प्रे-
- 22 मपात्रम् प्रजानाम् ॥ [११*] नृपकिरीटमणिद्युमणिप्रभाविसरभासितपादस-
- 23 रोरुहः [1*] वरगुणस्य विभोरनुजः कृती नरपतिस्तनयो[५*]स्य परान्तकः ॥ [१२*]
- 24 खरगिरिमभितः करीन्द्रयू[थं] रिपुनृपशोणितशोणदन्तमाजौ [1*] करकलितक-
- 25 पाणमा[त्र]सैन्यस्सरभसमुग्रमुद्रमग्रहीन्यः¹⁰ ॥ [१३*] अग्राहारै-

¹ On the right side of the ring-hole, is marked the figure '2' in Tamil.

² Read °माललम्बे.

³ The punctuation at the end of complete verses, here and *passim* is made by an ornamental mark.

⁴ Here and in other places, the writer has changed the *anusvāra* into the nasal of the class following.

⁵ Read दशाननं सन्धि°.

⁶ The letter ता is corrected from तो.

⁷ Read प्रपन्नाः.

⁸ Read संख्ये.

⁹ On the right of the ring-hole is the figure '3' in Tamil.

¹⁰ Read °मग्रहीन्यः.

- 26 रप्रमेयैरनेकैर्देवस्थानैरस्तसमूह्यैस्त¹टाकै-
 27 : [1*] पू[र्ण]म् पुण्यैर्यस्वयम्² पुण्यकीर्तिश्चक्रे चक्रचक्रवर्ती ध[रा]-
 28 याः [॥१४*] श्रीरिव श्रीनिवासस्य पौलोमीव शतक्रतोः [1*] [श्री]वानवन्महा-³
 29 देवी देवी तस्य प्रभोरभूत् ॥ [१५*] तस्याञ्जातः[*] श्रीनिधेस्तस्य देव्याम्
 30 पुत्रश्शत्रुक्षत्रवित्रासनश्रीः [1*] प्रज्ञाशौर्यस्थैर्यधैर्याभि-

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 31 जात्यत्यागाधारः पार्थिवो राजसिंहः ॥ [१६*] राजन्वती भवति यम्
 32 पतिमेत्य पृथ्वी देवन्दि⁴ वाकरानिशाकरवंशकेतुम् [1*] आर्त्तिम्⁵
 33 परामरिकदम्⁶ वकमर्थिसार्थम्⁶ पूर्त्तिन्नयन्तमखिला हरितश्च कीर्त्तिम् ॥ [१७*] ना-
 34 लम् भवन्ति निखिलार्थिजनाभिलाषास्त्यागस्य यस्य रिपवो[५*]पि पराक्रमस्य [1*] की-
 35 र्त्तैस्समस्तभुवनानि समुल्लसन्त्या वाचस्पतेरपि व-
 36 चांसि गुणस्तुतीनाम् ॥ [१८*] अर्थैरनर्थैरहितैरखिलान्द्वि-
 37 ⁶जेन्द्रानत्यर्थमर्थैरहितैरहिताननर्थैः [1*] आपूरयन्दशदिशोप्यम-
 38 लैर्यशोभिर्यो[५*]यम् मुनक्ति भुवनम् भरतानुभावः ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान् [कौ]-
 39 [शि]कवंशजश्श्रुतधनः[*] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मात्मि[ज]:[*] श्रेष्ठश्शलिबताम् परान्त-
 40 क इति प्रख्यातनामो[५*]ज्वलः [1*] तस्यास्ति प्रायितान्वयः पृथुयशाः प्रा-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

- 41 ज्ञः कृतज्ञः कृती राज्ञः प्रा[ज्य]गुणः प्रभूतविनयः प्रेमैकपात्रम् प्रभोः ॥ [२०*]
 42 पौत्रस्त्रैयेकधाम्नः⁸ परहितनिरतो भास्कराख्यस्य यो[५*]भूद्विद्यानद्या-
 43 [ः] पयो[धि]र्विविधबुधजनप्रार्थनापारिजातः [1*] पुत्तूराप्तोदयानाम्⁹
 44 पुरुतरतपसांभेकुटिकौशिकानां श्रेष्ठस्य श्रेष्ठि-
 45 नाम्नश्श्रुतविनयनिधेः श्रीनिधेर्यश्च नत्ता ॥ [२१*] आग्निवेश्य-
 46 कृतं क[रु]मनरूपं यस्य पूर्वजाः [1*] प्रतिष्ठाम् भूतधारिण्यामनयन्वेद-
 47 पारगाः ॥ [२२] मौद्वल्यानां स्यन्दनग्रामजानाम् मुख्यः ख्यातः[*] स्फटि[वृ]त्ताभि-
 48 जात्यः [1*] श्रीमान्धीमान्कीर्त्तिमानूरशर्मा धर्माधारो यस्य मातामहो[५*]भूत्
 49 ॥ [२३*] विद्या वृत्तं विनयविभवः[*] श्लाघनीया¹⁰ च लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीभर्तुश्चरणकमला-

¹ Read संख्यैस्त°.

² Read व्यैस्स्वयं.

³ The length of *ha* is inserted above the letter.

⁴ Read पृथ्वी देवं दि°.

⁵ Read *anusvara* in place of *m*.

⁶ The *ā*-sign of ज्ञ is at the end of the previous line.

⁷ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '4' in Tamil.

⁸ Read व्यैक°.

⁹ Read °नामुरतर°.

¹⁰ Read श्लाघनीया.

TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A).

ii a.

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ii b.

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iii a.

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Fourth Plate: Second Side.

- 50 संगिनी चित्तवृत्तिः [1*] नित्योत्तुंगशुचिरभिजनः शाश्वती कीर्तिरुच्चैः
 51 प्रज्ञा चेति प्रथितयशसो यस्य वंशव्रतानि ॥ [२४*] ¹वृत्तावदातो विन-
 52 यैकपात्रम् प्रभुः पिता यस्य पितामहश्रीः [1*] प्राज्ञः प्रसन्नः² प्रथिताभि-
 53 जात्यः [1] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मा श्रवणीयकीर्तिः ॥ [२५*] पाण्ड्यान्ववायतिलका-
 54 त्पुण्यश्लोकात्परान्तकात् [1*] वीरनारायणाद्देवाद्वीराद्धीमत्-
 55 पुरोगमः ॥ [२६*] वटकळव³ राष्ट्रतो³ [5*] ग्रहारम् महितगुणम् मणियाच्चिना-
 56 मधेयम् [1*] अलभत मतिमाननूनसारम् विहिततिचैचुटमंगलाभि-
 57 धानम् ॥ [२७*] स राजा रजिताशेषभूचक्रशक्रविक्रमः [1*] षोडशे राज्य-
 58 वर्षे स्वे सादितारातिमण्डलः ॥ [२८*] राजासिंहकुळकी⁴त्युक्ते रा-

Fifth Plate: First Side.⁴

- 59 ध्रे प्रतिष्ठितम् [1*] चू⁵लाख्योज्ज्वलं⁵ आममा[व]सन्नमरोपमः ॥ [२९*] अ-
 60 नूनलक्ष्मी⁶ अ⁶लोटभाजम् ⁷क⁷म्मेकयकैकपु⁷त्ता⁷रभिधानभाजम् [1*] कारा-
 61 णैमीयाट्टियुतं समस्तन्निरस्तपृथ्वीवल्लयोपसर्गः ॥ [३०*] करे-
 62 [णु]सञ्चारविभक्ततीमाचतुष्टयस्तुष्टिकरप्रजानाम्⁸ [1*] स ब्रह्मदेय-
 63 स्थितिमम् बु⁹पूर्वन्दिजाय तस्मै सकलं समग्रम् ॥ [३१*] वि-
 64 हितमन्दरगौरवमंगलाह्वयविराजितमग्रहरं¹⁰ वरं [1*] स-
 65 मदिशत्स परान्तकशर्मणे¹¹ निरुप¹¹म¹¹म् नृपतिर्नयकेतनः ॥ [३२*] धर्मो-
 66 पदेष्टा नृपतेरमुष्य मन्त्री कविश्रीनिधिरत्रिगोवः [1*] विज्ञप्तिरस्याहतस-
 67 ततन्तुस्तुंगाभिजात्यो जटिलो[5*]जनिष्ट ॥ [३३*] श्रीमारवर्मणस्तस्य भृत्यः
 68 क्षत्रशिखामणेः [1*] ¹²क¹²म्मेकयकैकपु¹²त्ता¹²रभिधानभाजम् [5*] स्याभूराज्ञाति¹²रमलान्वयः [1] ३४*

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

- 69 की¹³वेम्पनाटाभिजनस्य पुत्रो नक्कुमानित्यवदातनाम्नः [1*] कूरासज-
 70 न्मा सचिवो नृपस्य नाथः करिण्या[1*] कुटिकावलासीत् ॥ [३५*] नक्काटस्त कोन्वे-
 71 ळान्पटार¹³लोल्याह्वयः¹³ [1*] इत्येते गणकाश्चात्र करिणीभ्रमणे[5*]भव-

¹ Read वृत्तिः.

² Read प्रसन्नः.

³ राष्ट्रः has evidently to be understood in the sense of राष्ट्र.

⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '5' in Tamil.

⁵ Read उज्ज्वलं.

⁶ Read लक्ष्मीर⁶.

⁷ The u-sign of ⁷ is written like that used in ⁷.

⁸ Read चतुष्टयं तुष्टिकरः प्रजानाम्.

⁹ Read म्बु पूर्व द्विः.

¹⁰ मग्रहरं is used for मग्रहार for the sake of the metre.

¹¹ Read निरुपम्.

¹² Read स्याभूराज्ञातिः.

¹³ Read लोल्याह्वयः.

- 72 तः ॥ [३६*] पातप्रसन्न^१मनसस्तु कृतम्मेति सो[५*]यं समस्तवसुधाधिप-
73 वन्दनीयः [१*] बद्धाञ्जलिः प्रतिदिनम् प्रणमत्यशेषानागामि-
74 नः क्षितिपतीनभिमानमेरुः ॥ [३७*] विदितसकलवा[न्म]य-^३
75 स्य विष्णोर्विन्नयनयप्रभवस्य पूर्वजो यः [१*] अरचयदतुला-
76 मिमाम् प्रशस्तिम् मधुरगुणस्य सखा स वासुदेवः ॥ [३८*] स्वस्ति श्री [॥*]
77 திருவொடுந் தெள்ளமிர்த[த்*]தொடுஞ் செங்கதிரொளிக் கௌலுஹத்தொடும் அ-
78 ருவிமதக் களிரௌன்றொடுந் தொன்றி அரனவிர்சடைமுடி விற்றிருந்-
79 த வெண்டிங்கள் முதலாக வெளிப்பட்ட[ட]து நா[ற்]திசைலர் புகழ்நீரது நா-

Sixth Plate : First Side.⁴

- 80 னிலத்திலை⁵ பெற்றது ஹரஜாஜாடிகளால் நெர ஹுஹிக்கப்பட்டது வி-
81 ரவலர்க் கரியது ஜீநஜயஸாஸந்தது பொருவருஞ்சிர் அ-
82 கத்தியனை வுரொஹிதனாகப் பெற்றது ஹழிஹழிதொறு முள்ள-
83 து நின்ற ஒருவனை உடையது வாழியர் பாண்டியர் திருக்குல மி-
84 (ற்)தனில் வந்துந் தொன்றி வானவெல்லைவரைத் தாண்டும் மலை(க்)கடல் [க]-
85 டைந் தமிழ்து கொண்டுந் நானிலத்தொர் விஷயப்(ப்)பட
86 நாற்கட லொருபக லாடிஉம் மறுகி⁶[டு]லாளி மணிமு-
87 டிலுடு சங்கவெள்வனைத் தரத்தும்⁷ நிலவுலகம் வவஞ்-
88 செய்துந் நிகரில் வென்றி அமரர்க்குப் பலமுறைஉ[ற்]⁹
89 தாதுத்தும் வாகஸாஸந னாரம் வவ்விஉஞ்⁹ செம்மணிப் பூண்டு
90 தொன்றித் தென்றமிழின் கரைகண்டும் வெம்முனை வெலொன்று விட்டும்
91 விரைவரவிற் கடல் மிட்டும் பூழியனெனப் பெய ரெய்திஉம்⁹ பொர்(க்)-⁸
92 க்குன்றாயிரம் மிகிஉம்⁹ பாழியம்பாயனி னிமிர்ந்தும் பஞ்ச-
93 வனெனும் பெயர் நிநீஉம்⁹ வளமதுரைநகர் கண்டும் மற்றதற்கு மதி-

Sixth Plate : Second Side.¹⁰

- 94 ள் வகுத்தும் உளமிக்க மதிஅதன லொண்டமிழும் வடமொழி-
95 உம்⁹ பழுதறத் தானாராய்ந்து பண்டிதரில் மெந்தொன்றிஉம்⁹ மா-
96 ரதர் மலைகளத் தவியப் பாரதத்திற் பகடொட்டிஉம்⁹ விஜயனை
97 வஸுஸாப நிக்கிஉம்⁹ வெந்தழியச் சுரம் பொ[க்*]கிஉம்⁹ வசைஇல்¹¹ மாக்-
98 கயல் புவி சிலை வடவரை நெற்றிஇல் வரைந்துந் தடம்பூதம் பணி [கொ]-
99 ண்டு தடாகங்கள் பல திருத்திஉம்⁹ அடும்பசி நொய் நா[ட]கம்[றி]
100 அம்பொற் விதமுயரிஉந்⁹ தலைஆலங்கானத்திற் மன்னுக்க
101 மிருவெந்தரைக் கொலைவாளிற் மலை துமித்துக் குறத்தலை[யி]ன்
102 கூத்தொழித்தும் லீஹாராதந் தமிழ்ப் படுத்தும் லீயாராவாறிச் ச-
103 ங்கம் வைத்தும் லீஹாராஜரும் ஸாவ்லுஹெளரேரு[ஃ*] லீஹீணுங் காத்-

¹ Read °भवन्.

² Read °प्रसन्न.

³ Read वाङ्मय°.

⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '6' in Tamil. The figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle of double lines.

⁵ Read °திலை.

⁶ Read மறுவிலொளி மணிமுடி யொடு. The letters லொளிமணிமு are written over an erasure.

⁷ Read தரித்தும்.

⁸ Read பொற்குன்றாயிரம் லீகியும்.

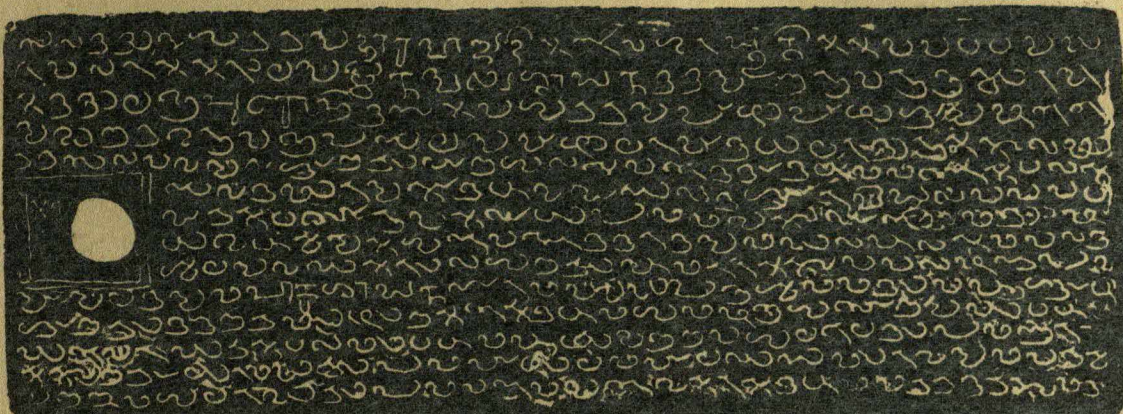
⁹ Read யும்.

¹⁰ Round the ring-hole is marked a rectangle in double lines.

¹¹ Read யில்.

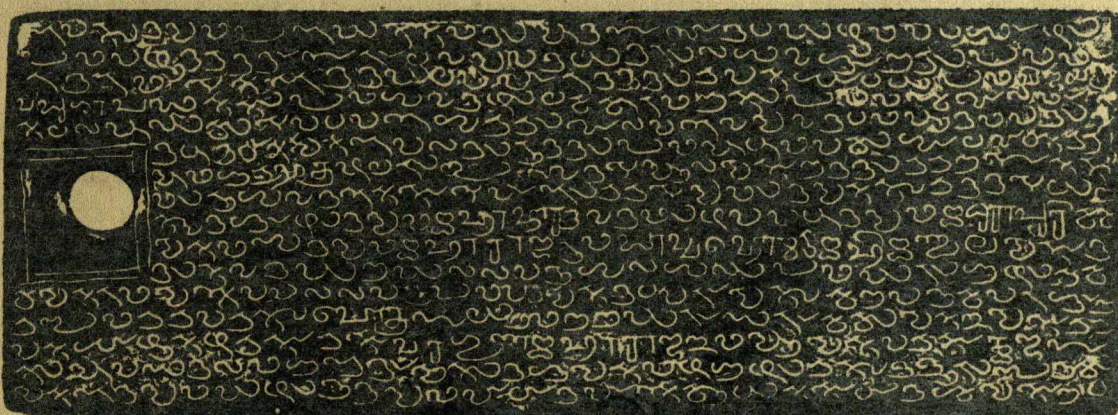
TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A).

vi a.



80
82
84
86
88
90
92

vi b.



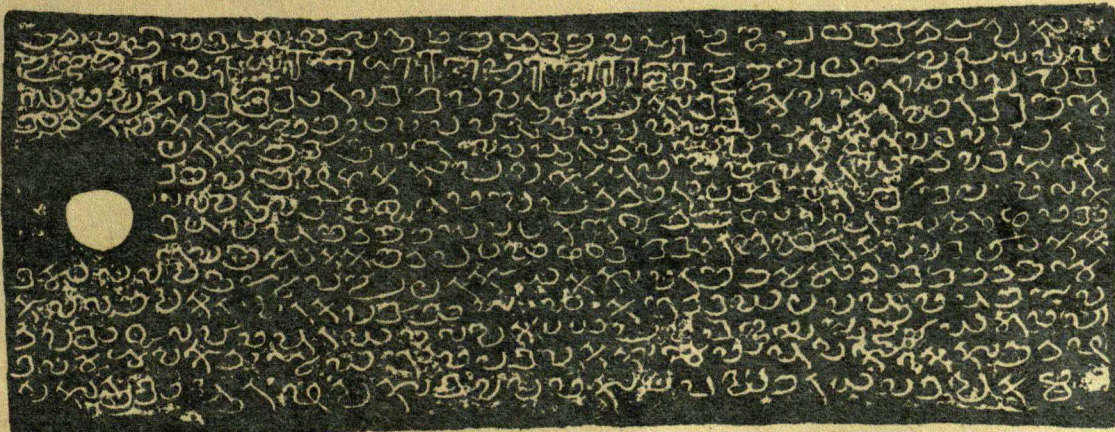
94
96
98
100
102
104
106
108

vii a.



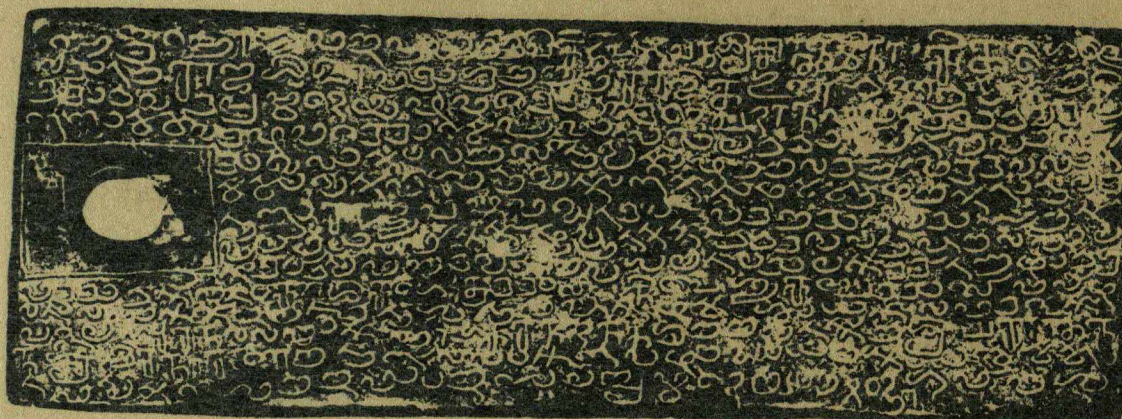
110
112
114
116
118
120
122
124

vii b.



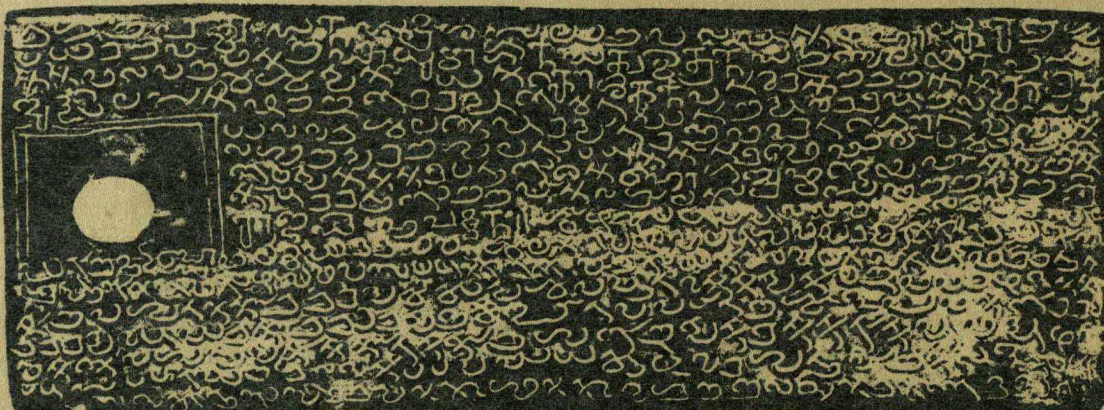
126
128
130
132
134
136
138

viii a.



140
142
144
146
148
150
152

viii b.



154
156
158
160
162
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166
168

- 104 திகந்தபின் வில்லவனை நெல்வெலிடம்¹ விரிபொழி[ம்]ச்
 105 சங்கரமங்கைப் பல்லவனைஉம்¹ புறங்கண்ட² பராங்குசன் பஞ்சவர் தொன்-
 106 மலு[ம்*] மற்றவற்கு வளஞ்சூழின மன்னபிரா னிராசசிங்கனுங் கொற்ற-
 107 வ[ர்*]க டொழுதழற்காற் கொ வரமணைஹாராஜனும் ஆங்கவற் காஞ்சுஜன-
 108 ி அலனிதலம் பொறை தாங்கித் தெங்கமழ் பொழிற் குண்ணாரிலுஞ் சி-
 109 ந்களத்தும் விழிஞத்தும் வாடாத வாகை சூழிக் கொடாத செங்கொண்ட[ர்]-

Seventh Plate : First Side.³

- 110 விக் கொங்கலர்பொழிற் குடமுக்கிற் பொர்குறித்து வந்தெதிர்ந்-
 111 த மஹவலுவொலகாலிஹோமயாடிகள் குருதிப் பெருமபுனற்
 112 குளிப்பக் கூர்வெங்கணைதொடை னெகிழ்த்துப் பருதி ஆற்றலொடு வி-
 113 ளங்கின பாசக்கிரகொலாலனுங் குரைகழற்கா லரை சிறைஞ்சக் குவ-
 114 லையதலந் தனதாக்கின வரைபுரையு மணிநெடுந்தொன் மன்னர்கொன் வரகு-
 115 ணவழி-ஹும் மற்றவனுக் கிளையனை மனுசரிதன் வாட்சடை-
 116 யன் பொற்றடம்பூண் சிரிபராந்தகன் புனைமணிப் பொன்முடி
 117 சூழிக் கைநிலந்தொய் கரிகுலமும் [வ]ராஜிஸூரமுங்⁴ காலா-
 118 னுஞ் செந்நிலத்தி னிலஞ்சொத் திண்கிலைவாய்க் கணை சித-
 119 மிடம்¹ வாயிரிஇம்⁵ கருதாதவர் [வ]ரகரிகுலநிரை வாரிட-
 120 ம் நிலம்பெர் நிகர் கடந்துந் நெடும பெண்ணுகட மழித்தும்
 121 ஆலும் பொர்ப்பரி ஒன்று லகன்கொங்கி லமர் கடந்துந் டெவவா-
 122 நம் பல செய்தும் வுரூபமெயம் ப[ல] திருத்திடந்¹ நாவலந்திவடி-
 123 ப்படுத்த⁶ நரபதிஉம்¹ வானடைந்தபின் வானவன்மஹாடெவி என்-
 124 னு மலர்மடந்தை முன் பயந்த மினவர்கொ னிராசசிங்கன் விகட-
 125 வாடவ னவனெய் அஹிவதி ஆயிரந்தலையா லரிதாகப்பொறுக்கி-

Seventh Plate : Second Side.

- 126 ன்ற மஹிமண்டலப் பெரும்பொறை தன் மஹா ஹஜவகுத்தாற் றுங்கி
 127 ஹஜமகாய[க்] யாணியாரண ஹாணராஜிக ஹஜவகுனய் உலப்பி-
 128 ⁷நிமங்கலத் தெதிர்ந்த தெவ்வருட லுகுத்த செந்நிர் நிலப்பெண்-
 129 ணிற் கங்கராகமென் நிவப்பாணி தந்தும் மடைப்பகர்நிர் த[த]ஞ்சை-
 130 யாகொன் தானைவரை நைப்பூரிற் படைப்பரிசாரந் தந்து[பொ]கத்
 131 தன் பணை முழக்கிடங்¹ கொடும்பை மாநகர் நிறைந்த குரைக-
 132 டல்ப் பெருந்தானை இடும்பைஉம்¹ நிரியத் த[னி]ரனெனைய மெல[கொ]-
 133 ண்டெம் புன் பொன்னி வடகரைஇம்⁵ பொழில் புடைசூழ் மதி-
 134 ள் வஞ்சிக் கனற்பட விழித்தெதிர்ந்த வீரர் கவந்த மாடக் க-
 135 ண் சிவந்துஞ் செவலுயர்[கொ]ழிக் கும[ர]னெனச் சிறித் தென்றஞ்சை
 136 காவலனது கரிதூரகபதாதி ஸு[வ] களத் தவியப் பூம்புன [ன]வ-
 137 ந்பதிஇல்¹ வாம்புரவி பலங் காட்டிடம்¹ விஜயபூஜ⁸ விசும் ப-
 138 ணவச் செங்கொ றிசைவிளிம் பணவக் குசைமாவுங் கொலைக் குன்றமு-
 139 ந் குருதிஆரமுங் குணந்தும் கூடுவஹி¹ன ரடிவணங்க ி-

Eighth Plate : First Side.⁸

- 140 ஹெநுஹொம மனுலவித்த விகடவாடவந் ஸீகாநுந் மிகாங்கிகெஸெடு-
 141 ந்திரன் ராஜஸிவாமணி தென்னன் ராஜிகமணமண னங்கொன் எ-

¹ Read யு for உ.

² The syllable ம has been inserted so close to பு that the உ-sign of the latter is not clearly seen.

³ To the right of the ring-hole in the figure '7' in Tamil and both the figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle.

⁴ Read ஸூர.

⁵ Read யி for இ.

⁶ Read தெத்.

⁷ The letter தி may also be read as லி.

⁸ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '8' in Tamil and both the ring-hole and the figure are enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

- 142 ண்ணிறந்த¹ ப்ரஹ்மதேயமும் எண்ணிறந்த டேவதாமமும் எண்ணிறந்த ப-
 143 ள்ளிச்சந்தமும் எத்திசை² மினிதியற்றி உராம்பிலொ-
 144 தி ஒலிகடல்பொ லொருங்கு முன்னந் தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 சசிக்கப்பெருங்குளக்கிழ்ச் சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜிவஷம் இரண்டாவத னெதிர் பதினான்கா-
 147 ம் யாண்டில் மாக் கொழுவுர்க்குற்றத்து வருபுனல் மிய்-
 148 குண்டாற்றுப் [பு]த்தாரெனப் பெயரெய்திய கொத்தார்பொழிற்சூ-
 149 மத்திற் கொமா கௌரிக் கொதூத்தி லாழிவெஸுகூத்தி லொம்பாழ்-
 150 வரில் மிக்கொ னுயர்தரு பெரும்புகழ்ச் செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வலையஸூரந் நலமிகு லாஸூரநந் தென்னவர்கொன் ஸ்ரீபராந்தக-
 152 ந் ஸ்ரீவிரநாரண னருளால் வடகளவழிநாட்டின்கட் டிசைச்சுட-
 153 ர்மங்கலமென்னு மிடனுடைய ப்ரஹ்மதேய மெகஹொமமாப்பெ-

Eighth Plate : Second Side.³

- 154 மறொன் வதாவத ஸஹஸானுயின பல[ர*]புகழ் லாஸூரன்செ-
 155 ட்டிதன் மாமகன் ஸாயுபோழ்ந் ஸதுதிதூந் ஸஹானுயந் படை-
 156 க்கமலவனச் செங்குழக் கௌரிகந் பராந்தகன் மனக் கநுஹ-
 157 ஸபூதியனாகி முன்னுரைத்த அரைசர்பிரான் அந்தண்புனலழனாட்-
 158 டில நற்செய்கைபுத்தாரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 லமென்று தன் பெயரிட்டுக் க[ர]ராண்மை மியாட்சி உள்-
 160 ளடங்கக் கண்டருளி ஏகஹொம ப்ரஹ்மதேயமாக நன்கு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன் [||*] மாகந் தொய் குடை மன்னவன் ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிஹவஜ் || சொழநாட்டுப் புல்லமங்கலத்து சடைய-
 163 பிரான் ஸட்டஸோமயாசி⁴ விண்ணப்பந் செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பற்றார்க் கூற்றங்-
 கொனா-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழ்வெம்பனிட்டுக்⁵ கூரக்குமாணை குடிகாவல் நாயகனாகவும் திருக்-
 165 கானப்பெர்க்குற்றத்துச் சிறுசெவ்வூர் நக்கங்காடனும் மிழலைக்க-
 166 ற்றத்து நடுவிற்கூற்றிற் துஞ்சலூர்ப் படாரஞ்சொலேஉம்⁶ களாத்தி-
 167 ருக்கைப் பெருங்காக்கூர்க்கொன் வெளானுங் கணக்கராகவும் அழ[னா]-
 168 ட்டினுட்டார் நின் மெல்லை காட்டப் பிடிசூழ்ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை கிழெ-
 169 ல்லை சுருளி ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்குந் தென்னெல்லை கற்குளத்தில்⁷

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse. 1.) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (*seen*) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V. 2.) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the night (*viz.*) the great heroism of its enemies. The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife.

¹ Read ப்ரஹ்.

² Read யு for உ.

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

⁴ Read ஸட்டஸோமயாஜி.

⁵ Read னாட்டுக்

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pāṇḍya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pāṇḍyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vēṭvikūḍi grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya.

(V. 4.) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*).

(V. 5.) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Ravana) to sue for peace.

(V. 6.) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gaṅgā) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya.

(V. 7.) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hari (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra); still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus.

(V. 8.) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śāstras.

(V. 9.) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices. Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V. 10.) In that family was born king Arikêsa, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions. His son (*was*) Jaṭila. His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasimha. His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess. His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (*Śrîvallabha*).

(V. 11.) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêraḷa, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella.

(V. 12.) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings.

(V. 13.) He quickly captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand.

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name. Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv. 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V. 8, is mentioned by name

(V. 14.) This emperor, himself of meritorious fame, caused the circle of the earth to be filled with holy, boundless Brâhmin settlements¹, numerous temples and countless tanks.

(V. 15.) The wife of that king was the glorious Vânavanmahâdêvî, as Śrî (was) of Śrînivâsa (i.e., Vishnu) and as Paulômî (Śachî) (was) of Śatakratu (Indra).

(V. 16.) Of this queen was born to him, who was the abode of prosperity, the son, king Râjasimha who was the repository of intelligence, valour, stability, courage, nobility and liberality and who successfully scared away the heroism of (his) enemies.

(V. 17.) Having obtained him, the banner of (both) the (solar) (and the lunar) races, who caused the utmost grief to the host of enemy kings, satisfaction to the crowds of supplicants and fame (to reach) all directions, the earth (now) became (truly) possessed of a king.

(V. 18.) The requests of all supplicants are not enough for (i.e., to satisfy) his liberality; nor the enemies for his prowess; nor all the worlds for (his) lustrous fame; nor (again) the words of the Master of Words (i.e., Brihaspati) for praising (his) virtues.

(V. 19.) Dignified as Bharata, he rules the earth filling all Brahmans with endless wealth, the enemies with ruin which fully deprives (them) of (their) wealth and the ten quarters with faultless fame.

(V. 20.) A great favourite of this lord, the king, was the glorious son of the illustrious Śrêshṭhisarma, who was famous by the well-known name Parântaka, who was born in the Kauśîka lineage, was possessed of wealth which was learning, who was the best of the upright and of famous descent, who was widely known, wise, dutiful and virtuous, of excellent character and highly modest.

(V. 21.) This (Parântaka) who was ever devoted for the good of others, who was the ocean (into which emptied itself) the river of learning and who was the Pârijâta (celestial) tree (in fulfilling) the desires of all classes of wise men, was the grandson of him who was named Bhâskara, the sole repository of the Trayî (Vêdas), and the great-grandson of him named Śrêshṭhin who was the purest of the Śenkuṭi-Kauśîkas of great religious austerity born in Puttûr, a mine of knowledge and modesty and the home of prosperity.

(V. 22.) His ancestors who had reached the (other) end of Vêdic (learning) established on this earth the extensive work called Kalpa written by Âgnivêśya².

(V. 23.) His maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrasarma, the chief of the residents of Syandana-grâma, of the Maudgalya (lineage), who was of high birth and noble character, illustrious, intelligent, famous and a prop of virtue.

(V. 24.) Knowledge, noble conduct, wealth, modesty, praiseworthy riches, a conscience ever attached to the lotus-feet of the lord of Lakshmî (Vishnu), a descent ever high and pure, permanent fame and superior intelligence—these were the rule in the family of him (i.e., Ūrasarma) whose fame was widely known.

(V. 25—27.) His (i.e., Parântaka's) father, the wise and illustrious Śrêshṭhisarma, whose conduct was pure, who was as powerful and glorious as Pitâmaha

¹ The word *agrâhâra* is used in place of the usual word *agrahâra*, for the sake of the metre.

² Perhaps they were proficient in the *Âgnivêśya-kalpa*, the doctrine of medicine in which Âgnivêśya is said to have been a predecessor of Suśruta.

(Brahma) who was the one resort of modesty, intelligent, good and of noble descent whose fame was pleasant to hear and who was the leader of the wise, received from the heroic (*king*) Parântaka, lord Vîranârâyana of meritorious fame and an ornament of the Pândya race, the Brahman village (*agrahâra*) named Maṇiyâchi of unfailing fertility, (*which was*) a famous *agrahâra* (situated) in Vada-Kalavaḷi-râshṭra¹ re-naming (it) Tîsaichchudarmaṅgala.

(Vv. 28—32.) The same god-like king of unfailing prosperity, who pleased the whole circle of the earth and satisfied (*his*) subjects, who destroyed the host of enemies, who was the banner of polity, whose prowess was (*equal to*) that of Śakra (*i.e.*, Indra) and who removed the troubles (*of the people*) on the circle of the earth, in the 16th year of his reign, while camping² in the famous village named Chûḷal situated in the territorial division (*râshṭra*) called Râjasimhakulakkîḷ, gave with libations of water, to the Brahman, Parântakaśarman, the whole of the matchless and excellent *agrahâra* named Narcheygai-Puttûr situated in Ala-nâḍu which was famous with its (*second*) name Mandaragauravamaṅgalam, as a *brahmadêya* property, together with (*its*) *kârânmai* and *miyâtehi* and with (*its*) four boundaries marked off by the circumambulation of the female elephant.

(V. 33.) The *viñapti* of this (grant) was the minister Jaṭila of respectable descent and a storehouse of prosperity who was the councillor of the king and a poet of the Atri-gôtra, who had performed (Vêdic) sacrifices.

(V. 34.) The *âjñapti* of this (grant) was the servant of that crest-jewel of warriors, the illustrious Mâravarmān, who was descended of a pure family and was called Kûrraṅgôn.

(V. 35.) A minister of the king, born at (*the village of*) Kûra, the son of a nobleman of Kîḷ-Vêmba-nâḍu and known by the famous name Nakkaṅkumâṇ, was the master of the female elephant³ and the warden (*kudikâval*).

(V. 36.) Also Nakkaṅ-Kâḍa, Kôn-Vêḷân and he, called Paṭâraṇ-Chôla—these (*three*) accountants were appointed (to supervise) the circumambulation of the female elephant.

(V. 37.) Worshipped by all rulers, this (*king*) Abhimânamêru prostrates (*himself*) every day before all future kings with palms folded (*over his head*) (and saying) “Oh! pure-minded kings! Protect (*this*) my gift!”

(V. 38.) Vâsudêva, the friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishṇu who had studied the whole (*science of*) literature and was the birth place of modesty and intelligence, composed this matchless *praśasti*.

Tamiḷ portion.

(Line 76.) Hail! Prosperity! May the prosperous family of the Pândyas live long—(*the family*) which came forth commencing with the white Moon enthroned on the brilliant

¹ *Râshṭrataḷ* has evidently to be understood in the sense of *râshṭrê*.

² The word *âvāsāt* may be compared with *âvāsakât* or *vāsakât* which often occur at the beginning of copper plate inscriptions.

³ The significance of this attribute is not clear. The female elephant referred to is perhaps the one that circumambulated the village.

plaited hair of H a r a (*i.e.*, Śiva), and born (*from the milk ocean*) along with (*the goddess of*) prosperity, the pure ambrosia, the K a u s t u b h a (gem) of lustre like that of the Sun's and that single elephant (the Airāvata) of flowing rut;—a fit object of praise for the people of the four quarters which possesses the four (*divisions*) of the earth; which was justly extolled by Bhâradvâja and other (*sages*); which was beyond the reach of enemies; whose commands bore (*the seal of*) the double¹ fish; which had for its family priest (the sage) Agastya of unequalled glory; which has been in existence through aeons and which counts (among its members) the one ever-lasting Being.²

(L. 84.) After many great kings and emperors born in this (*family*) who ruled right up to the boundaries of the heavens, (*such as*) he who churned the billowy ocean and obtained nectar; he who bathed in a single day³ in the four oceans, causing admiration to the people of the four (*divisions of*) the earth, who with a crown (*bedecked*) with gems of faultless lustre, wore (*also*) an anklet of white conch; he who went round the globe of the earth; he who sent ambassadors on several occasions to the gods of matchless victory; he who carried away the garland of P â k a ś â s a n a (*i.e.*, Indra); he who, appearing with ornaments of valuable gems, mastered the T a m i l (*language*) of the south; he who by throwing a sharp-edged javelin caused the quick return of the sea; acquired the name P â l i y a n; who gave away thousands (of gifts) of the golden hill (Mêru); he who stood firmly in the field (*of battle*) at P â l i and obtained the name P a ñ c h a v a n; he who founded the prosperous city of M a d u r a and built (*a surrounding*) wall for it; he who with the supreme intelligence of his mind, was profoundly versed in the beautiful T a m i l and S a n s k r i t and became the foremost among scholars; he who led the elephants in the B h â r a t a (*war*) so as to destroy the great charioteers in a hill-battle⁴; he who relieved V i j a y a (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; he who drove (*his enemies*) to the forest so that they might be scorched up and destroyed (*there*) and had the blameless (*royal emblems*) of the big fish, the tiger and the bow engraved on the top of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.*, the Himâlayas); he who, securing the services of huge giants, restored many tanks and relieved the country from disease and pinching hunger; he who with a dreadful sword cut off the heads of two kings that advanced against him in the battles at C h i t r m u y a r i and T a l a i y â l a n g â n a m and stopped the dance of their (*two*) headless trunks and he who had the M a h â b h â r a t a translated into T a m i l and had established the "Śaṅgam" in the town of M a d h u r a. had ruled the circle of the earth and had passed away.

(L. 104.) Then (*came*) P a r â ṇ k u ś a, the king of the P a ñ c h a v a s (*i.e.*, Pāṇdyas) who saw the back of the C h é r a king (*Villavan*) at N e l v ê l i and that of the P a l l a v a (king) at Ś a n k a r a m a n g a i of extensive pleasure gardens. His grandson (*was*) R â j a - s i m h a, the lord of kings. (*Next came*) king V a r a g u ṇ a - M a h â r â j a whose feet (*wearing*) anklets are worshipped by monarchs.⁵ His son was P a r a c h a k r a k ô l â h a l a, who bore the burden of the earth, who wore (a victorious garland of) never-fading *vâgai*

¹ It is possible that *dvaya* here stands for *dhvaja* = banner.

² The reference is evidently to the story in the Hâlâsyapurâṇa of Śiva himself being counted as one of the Pāṇdyas.

³ *I.e.*, day time.

⁴ [*Mahârâtia* and *Malaikalam* may preferably be left untranslated. The former may refer to a people and the latter to a field of battle. The passage when so altered would stand thus:—“Who led his elephants into Bhârata and caused the Mahârathas to be destroyed at Malai-kalam.—K.V.S.]

⁵ The relationship existing between Râjasimha and Varaguna-Mahârâja is not given.

(flowers)¹ at Kuṇṇîr, (*surrounded by*) gardens of delightful fragrance, at Śiṅgalaṃ and at Viḷiṇaṃ; who firmly wielded his sceptre and who shining with the prowess of the Sun and shooting from (*his*) bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Gaṅga, Pallava, Chôḷa, Kaliṅga, Magadha and other (*kings*) that came to give battle and opposed (*him*) at Kuḍamûkkil of fragrant and blooming flower-gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood.

(L. 113.) (*Next came*) Varaguṇavarman, the lord of kings, whose feet were worshipped by kings (*wearing*) jingling anklets on their legs, and who by (*his*) beautiful long arms resembling hills, made the earth his own.

(L. 115.) His younger brother, the glorious warrior Parāntakan Ṣadaiyaṇ, the king whose conduct (*followed the rules prescribed by*) Maṇu, who wore many golden ornaments, who put on a golden crown decorated with gems; who showered arrows from (*his*) powerful bow so that the elephant troops whose (long) trunks touched the earth, the horse battalions and the infantry (of the enemies) fell on the earth at (*the battle of*) Śeṇṇilam; who captured at Kharagiri crowds of files of powerful elephants of enemy (kings) and won a battle at Nilambêr; who had destroyed the extensive Peṇṇāgaḍam, who with the help of a single powerful prancing horse, won battles in the extensive Koṅgu (*country*); who performed many (*gifts of*) dēvadāna (*lands*) and restored many brahmadēya (*grants*) and who subdued the whole of India (*Nāvattiru*)², having also gone to heaven.

(L. 123.) The first son of the goddess of the (lotus) flower (i. e., Lakshmi) called Vānavanmahādēvi, was he the king of the Mīṇavar, (i. e., the Pāṇdyas) Rājasimha Vikāṭavāḍavaṇ³, who having himself borne (*easily*) by the strength of his broad shoulders, the great burden of the circle of the earth which the lord of serpents (i. e., Śeṣha) bears with much difficulty by his thousand heads, became distinguished as "the strong-armed that relieved the serpent Lord of (*the pain of*) carrying the earth"; who at Ulappinimaṅgalaṃ pierced the bodies of the enemies that attacked (*him*), and gave (*their*) blood, the superior (*position*) of becoming the scented cosmetics of the good goddess Earth, who sounded his drum when the king of the Tañjai (*country*) (*full of*) water flowing from sluices, ran away surrendering his arms,⁴ at Naippûr which was filled with mountain-like battalions⁵; who commenced his battle⁶ at the big city of Koḍumbai where the assembled (*enemy's*) forces, vast like the roaring ocean, dispersed suffering affliction; whose looks caused (*the town of*) Vañji with walls surrounded on all sides by flower-gardens (*and situated*) on the northern bank of the Kâvêrî (*Ponni*) abounding in water to be consigned to flames, and whose eyes which became red (*with anger*) made to dance the headless bodies of the heroes that opposed him; who like Kumâra (Skanda) of the high cockflag, swelled with rage and displayed the strength of (*his*) galloping steeds by destroying in the battle at the beautiful and well watered town of Nâval the crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men of the lord of the southern Tañjai (*country*). (*His*) victorious flag reaching the sky, his sceptre wielded (*right*) up! to the ends of quarters, acquiring the bridled horse, the chief mountain and the blood-red garland, was enjoying the pleasure of Mahêndra with his prosperous sons worshipping at his feet, the king Vikāṭavāḍava, the lord of Prosperity, who marked the chief of mountains with his fish

¹ I.e., 'was victorious at'.

² The Jambudvîpa.

³ The great sub-marine fire to the ocean of his enemies.

⁴ The phrase *paḷai-ppariśāram tandu* has been tentatively translated 'surrendered his arms'.

⁵ *Tāñjai-varai* has perhaps to be taken as an adjective qualifying Naippûr.

⁶ The phrase may also be interpreted as "having mounted on the back of his (elephant) Raṇḍaya."

emblem, the crest-jewel of kings, this lord of the south (*Tennan*), of many brilliant virtues having founded with pleasure in every direction numberless *brahmadēyas*, numberless *dēvadānas*, and numberless *pallichchandan*.

(L. 143.) Being pleased to stay in the town of Chūlāl (*situated*) in Rājasingaperuṅḡlam, abounding in wreath of water-lilies and resembling the noisy ocean which was formerly founded by himself—in the 14th year opposite the 2nd year of his reign, the Brāhman Bhāskaran-Śetti who was like the lotus-born (Brahmā) and was praised by all, the son of the virtuous Bhāskara, the chief of the noble and illustrious race of the Śettis, the foremost of Ombālvās of the Āgnivēśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kauśika-gōtra (living) in the village Kōttārpōlil¹ named Puttūr in the watery Miṅḡundāru (district) (*which was included*) in the big (*district of*) Kōlūvūr-kūrām, having obtained as *ēkabhōga* the *brahmadēya* consisting of the place (called) Tisāichchudarmaṅgalam in Vada-Kalavali-nādu, by the grace of the Pāndya king the glorious Parāntakan śrī-Vīranāraṇa.

(L. 155.) The chief of kings mentioned above, the illustrious Rājasiṃhavarman, the sovereign whose umbrella touched the sky, desirous of doing some good to Parāntaka the famous son of Bhāskaran Śetti (*i. e.*, Śetti son of Bhāskara) who walked in the path of the virtuous, a Kauśika of Śēṅḡudi (surrounded by) a forest of lotuses, the friend of the created beings and the home of good qualities, was pleased to kindly confer as *ēkabhōga-brahmadēya* together with *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (the village) Nārcheygai-Puttūr in Alā-nādu of beautiful streams of cool water which he was pleased to found calling it Mandaragauravamaṅgalam after his own name.

(L. 162.) The *vinṇappam* (of this grant) was Śadaiyapirāṇ Bhaṭṭasōmayājin of Pullamaṅgalam in Śōlā-nādu; the *āṇṇapti* (*ānai-āl*) (of the grant) was Kōṇṇāṅḡ of Vēmbarrūr in Kalavali-nādu; the chief warden (*Kuḍikāval-nāyakan*) was Kumān of Kūra in Kīl-Vēmba-nādu and the accountants were Nakkan-Kāḍan of Śīru-Śevūr in Tirukkānappēr-kūrām, Paṭārañ-Chōlai of Tuñjalūr in Naḍuvīr-kūrām (a sub-division) of Milalaik-kūrām and Kōṇ-Vēlāṇ of Peruṅākkūr (near) Kalāttirukkai.

(L. 167.) The residents (*nāttār*) of Alā-nādu being appointed to mark the boundary line, the female elephant was led around and (the following) four big boundaries were thus (marked). The eastern boundary (was) to the west of Śurūliyāru; the southern boundary (was) in Karkulam.²

TEXT.³

[Metres: Vv. 1—4, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥*] पत्मा⁵[भु]जपरिष्वंगप्रमदोत्पुळकायु[धी]:⁶[॥*] विद्यायशोविमूती-

2 नैः पुष्पातु पुरुषोत्त[म*]: ॥—[१] अन्वयस्सुचिरं स्थेयाद⁷मृतां-

¹ [Mr. Venkayya has also treated *Kōttārpōlil* as a proper noun and as a surname of the village Puttūr. I would prefer to read *Kōttārpōlil* instead of *Kōttārpōli* and take it as an adjunct to *grāma* (village) meaning “(surrounded) by a forest filled with bunches of flowers”—K.V.S.]

² The inscription is incomplete. One or more copper-plates must be missing.

³ From the original plates and a set of ink impressions prepared by the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁴ These two syllables are engraved on the margin of the plate opposite to line 4.

⁵ Read पद्मा°.

⁶ Read °कायुधी । Perhaps the *visarga* after धी was meant for a दण्ड.

⁷ The actual reading is °यादमृतां°.

i.

2
4
6
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ii a.

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12
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16
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ii b.

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iii.

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34
36
38

3 शुसमुद्धवः [1*] मुरारिदर्पहन्तारो नरेन्द्रा यत्र जज्ञिरे ॥ [२*] कृष्ट-
 4 கிரண(ன்) னன்வயத்திராவணன தழிவகல ஸரீரேவத் த-
 5 ஸாரமணதலை அழியச் சிலை குனித்து வடவரையதுவலா-
 6 ரசூளிகை மணிக்கெண்டைப்பொறி சூட்டியுந் தென்வரைமி-
 7 சைக் குஹோஜீவநது திந்தமிழிற் செவி கழுவிடும் ஹரிஹய-
 8 நது ஹாரம் பூண்டு ஜே-ஸந மவனெ டெறிஉஞ்¹ சரிவளையவன்-
 9 நிருமுடிமிசைத் தூணி பலபடத் தொளொச்சு¹ மொத மி-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 ள வெவெறிந்தும் மொராரூரன்² கூதுச் செய்தும் ஹுதமணம்
- 11 பணியாண்டும் ஹவநதும் பொது நிக்கியும் யானை யாயி-
- 12 ர மைய்யமிட்டு(ம்) மபரிமித மதியங்கன் செய் தூ-
- 13 னமில் புகழ்ப் பாணுவஸத் தொலொகநாயர் பலர் கழி-
- 14 ந்தபின் ஜமஜீதயஸொராஸரிஜீ-யதவஜீ-ன்³ மகனாகிப் ப-
- 15 கை(ப்)ஹுவர் தலை பணிப்பப் பாஜேஸூரன் வெளி[ற்]பட்டு⁴ கரிகெஸ-
- 16 ரி கஸலேவின் கலுவலிகுரீந் ககாவுகாவு(ன்)னெனத் தன்-
- 17 க்குரியன் பல ஹணநாம முலகுமுழு துகந்தெத்தப் பரா-
- 18 வனிபருல மிறஞ்ச⁵ப் பாரகலம் பொது நிக்கி ஐராஸ-ரார
- 19 திடரகல ஐநவஷ-⁶[ம்*] பொழித[ற்]கு வொஹகத்தின் வரகம் கொண்-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 20 டு கஹாலார மினிதெறி ஸாணுன யுலகளித்து கிரணு-
- 21 மஹி மிருகால் புக்கு மொஸஹஸுத்துடக்கத்துக் ஹரு[ஜா]-
- 22 னம் பல செய்து வாஸவன் பொல விற்றிருந்தனன் வஸ-ர-
- 23 யாவதி ஶாரவஜீ-ன் [1*] மற்றவற்கு மகனாகி மதிபுரையுந் கு-
- 24 டைநிழல் வற்ற மின்றி அவனிஜீனா முடனெம்-
- 25 பி அருள்பயந்து கலுக்கத்தின் வரகம் கொண்டு கலிகுற-
- 26 ஷ மறநிக்கி அற்பமல்லா ஐவூம் கொடுத் தவனிஸ-ர ரி-
- 27 டர்நிக்கி கருதாது வந்தெதிர்ந்த கழல்வெந்தருட-
- 28 னவிய மருதாரொடு குவளேமலையு மத்தவெழஞ் செல வுந்திச்-

Last Plate.⁶

- 29 க்குக் கிழக்கும் வடவெல்லே கொற்றன்புத்தூர் பகவதிகொஇலு⁷-
- 30 க்குத் தெற்கு[ம்] மிவ்விதைத்த⁷ பெருநான்கெல்லையுட்பட்டது ஸவ்-⁸வரி-
- 31 ஹாரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்து⁸ மிதற்காணத்தி[ப்*]பட்டா னண்டனாட்டுக்
- 32 குணரீர்க்குற்றத்துக் குணரீ ருத்தாமந்திரியாயின தாயன்
- 33 சிங்கன் இதன் புறங்காவ லெண்பத்தைங்கலங் குடுக்க பது-
- 34 து⁹ 10 மாற்றிதனைக் காத்தார் [த*]ன்¹¹ மலரடி என் முடி மெலன என்று கொற்-
- 35 தவனெய் பணித்தருளித் தெற்றெனத் தாஜேஸாஸநஞ் செய்[வி]த்தான் [1*]

¹ Read யு for உ.

² Read யி for இ.

³ Compare with this metrical attribute जगदीत-
 यशोराशि, the similar attribute थरणिधरणहरणराजित
 applied to Rājasimha III in the Bigger Śīnnapanūr
 plates, Text—line 127.

⁴ The letter ற் is corrected from ச்.

⁵ Read மிறைஞ்ச-

⁶ How many plates may be missing before this
 cannot be determined.

⁷ Read ஃவிசைத்த.

⁸ Read ஃகுடுத்தோமி.

⁹ Read ஃபட்டது.

¹⁰ Read மற்றி.

¹¹ Read ஃதம்.

territorial division Edeore, two thousand, a tract of country lying between the rivers Krishnâ on the north and Tungabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district¹. The Kanyākumâri inscription of Virarājendra shows that Manṇaikaḍakkam is not to be identified with Maṇṇe in the Nelamaṅgala taluk of the Bangalore district but is the same as Mānyakhêṭa, which Rājendra-Chôla is said to have made a playground for his armies². Chakkara-kôṭṭam has been satisfactorily identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chitrakûṭa or kôṭa, eight miles from Rājapura in the Bastar State: he has also adduced epigraphical evidence to show that its king was really Dhârâvarsha in A.D. 1111³, as stated in the epigraphs of Kulōttunga I. Dakshina-Lâḍam has been taken to be Dakshina-Virâṭa or Southern Berars; but it looks likely that it is identical with Dakshina-Râḍha in Bengal⁴. Śrī-Vijaya appears under the form Śrī-Vishaya in a Kandiyūr inscription⁵ of the same king; and the large Leyden grant states that Māravijayōttunga varman was the overlord of this territory⁶. This has been taken to be the same as San-fotsai of the Chinese annals and has been identified with Palembang, a residency of Sumatra⁷.

TEXT.

First Plate : First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ || திரு மன்னி வளர இருநிலமடந்தையும் பொர்ச்சயப்பாவையும் சீர்த்த-
- 2 னிச் செலவியுந் தன் பெருந்தெவியராகி யின்புற⁸ கெடதிய⁹ லூழியு ளிடைதுறை
- 3 நாடும் துடர்வனவெலிப் படர் வனவாசியும்¹⁰ சூள்ளிச் சூழ¹¹ மதிட கொள்ளிப்பாக்கையு-
- 4 ம் நண்ணம் கருமரண்¹² மண்ணை கூடக்கழும் பொருதட¹³ ரீழத்தரையர்த முடியு மாங்கவர் தெவிய
- 5 ரொங்கெழின்முடியு முன்னவர் [ப]க்கம் மென்னவர் வைத்த சுந்தாமுடியு மிந்திரகாரமுந் தெ-
- 6 ண்டுரை யீழமண்டல முழுவதும் எறிபடைக்¹⁴ கெளர் முறைமைமிற் சூடுங் குலதன-
- 7 மாகிய பலர் புகழ் முடியும் செங்கதிர்மாலையும் சங்கதிர் வெலைத் தொல்பெ-
- 8 ருங்காவம் பல பழந்தீவும் செருவிற் சினவி விருபத்தொருகா லரைசுகளை கட்ட பரசுரா-
- 9 மன் மெவருஞ் சாந்திமத்திவரண் கருதி யிருத்திய செம்பொற் திருத்தகு முடியும் பயங்- கொ-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 296.

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 119 and 156.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 179. Mr. Hira Lal would substitute "Kulōttunga conquered king Dhârâvarsha at Chakrakōṭṭa" for "Kulōttunga conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakōṭṭam": See foot-note 2.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, p. 7 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1894-5, paragraph 12.

⁶ *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p. 218.

⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXVI, p. 73 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313.

⁸ Tr. reads இன்புற. Here and in the following foot-notes, Tr. denotes the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chôla I, published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

⁹ Here and in the following foot-notes, Tj. denotes the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra-Chôla I published in Vol. II, above, pp. 105 ff. Tj. and Tr. read நெடதியல்.

¹⁰ சூள்ளி is a mistake for சூள்ளி.

¹¹ சூழ் is the reading in Tr. and Tj.

¹² முரண் is the reading in Tr. and Tj.

¹³ This reading occurs in Nos. 9, 10 and 82 of *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II.

¹⁴ Read கெளர்.

- 10 பெழி மிக முயங்கியில்¹ முதுகிட்டொளித்த சயசிங்கன் அளப்பெரும்² புகழொடு³பிடியி-
விரட்டபாடி யெழ-
- 11 ரை யிலக்கமும் நவனெதிக்குலப்பெருமலைகளும்⁴ வீக்கிரமவீரர் சக்கரகொட்டமு முதிர்-
வடவல்லை மது-
- 12 ர மண்டலமும் காமிடைவள நாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும்⁵ வெஞ்சிலை⁷ வீரர் பஞ்சப்பள்ளி-
யும் பாசடைப்ப-
- 13 முன மாசணிதெசமும்⁸ அயர்வில்வண்பூர்த்தியையாதினுகர்⁹வையிற் சந்திரன் ரெல்குலத்-
திந்திராதனை¹⁰ [வி]-
- 14 னையமார்க்களத்துக் கிளையொடும் பிடித்துப் பலதனத்தொடு நிறைகுலதனக்குவையும்¹¹ கிட்-
டருஞ்செ-

Second Side.

- 15 நிமினை [டு]யாட்டவினெயமும் பூசுரர் செர் நல்க் கொசலைனாடும் தன்மபாலனை வெம்-
முனை யழித்து வ-
- 16 ண்டுறை சொலைத் தண்டபுத்தியும் இரணகுரனை முரணுக¹² த்தாக்கித் திக்கனை கீர்த்தித்
தக்கணலாடமும் கொ-
- 17 விந்தசந்தன் மாவிழிந்தொடத் தங்காத சாரல் வங்காளதெசமும் தொடுகழற் சங்குவொ-
ட்டல்¹³ மயிபாலனை வெ-
- 18 ஞ்சமர் விளாகத்தஞ்சவித்தருளி யொண்டிறல் யானையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமும் நித்தில
நெடுங்கட லு-
- 19 த்திரலாடமும் வெறிமலர்த்தீரத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்¹⁴ அலைகடனடுவட்¹⁵ பலகலஞ்
செலுத்திச் சங்கிராம-
- 20 வினெயொத்துங்கபன்மனாகிய கடாரத்தரையனை வாகையம்¹⁶ பொரு[க]டக்கு¹⁷[ம்ப]-
க்கரி-
- 21 யொடு மகப்படு[த் துரி]மையிற் பிறக்கிய பெருநெதிப் பிறக்கமும் ஆர்த்தவனகனகர்ப்
பொ-
- 22 ர்த்தொழில் வாசலில் விச்சாதர¹⁸ (தொ)தொரணமு மொய்த்தொளிர் புனைமணிப்புதவமு-
ம் கன்-

¹ Tr. has முசங்கியல், while Tj. reads முயங்கியல். The change of ச and ய is quite ordinary.

² Tj. has அளப்பரும்.

³ Tr. and Tj. read பிடியல். Correct பிடியில் into பிடியல்.

⁴ Read விக்கிரம.

⁵ Tr. reads பட.

⁶ In place of வளநாமணை(ய)க்கொணையும், Tr. reads வளைய நாமணைக்கொணையும், but Tj. has வளநாமணைக்கொணையும்.

⁷ For வெஞ்சிலை (= of fierce arrow) of Tr. and Tk., Tj. has வெஞ்சின (= of fierce anger).

⁸ For பாசடை பழணமாசணி தெசமும் of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has பாசடை பழநன் மாசணிதெசமும்.

⁹ வண்பூர்த்தி(யை) யாதினுகர் of the Tk., generally occurs as வண்கிர்த்தி ஆதி நகர் (Tr. and Tj.). The change of நகர் into னுகர் is correct.

¹⁰ For குலத்திந்திராதனை of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has குலத்திராதனை where ந்திர is perhaps omitted before ராதனை.

¹¹ For கிட்டருஞ் of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has கிட்டரும் which is perhaps an engraver's mistake.

¹² For முரணுக of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has முரணுக.

¹³ The reading தொடு கழற் சங்குவொட்டல் agrees with that given in Tj., but Tr. has சங்கு கொட்டன்.

¹⁴ While Tj. reads வெறிமலர்த்தீரத்தத் தெறிபுனல்கங்கை, Tr. has வெறிமணற்றீர்த்தத் தெறிபுனற்-
கங்கை; and Tk. வெறிமலர்த்தீரத் தெறிபுனற்கங்கை.

¹⁵ For னடுவட் of Tk., னடுவுட் is the reading in Tj. Both are correct.

¹⁶ While Tk. reads வாகையம், Tj. has வாகயம்.

¹⁷ In place of கட்டும்பக்கரி, an Uttaramallūr inscription reads கடல் கும்பக்கரி. (see note 6 on page 107 above).

¹⁸ A different reading of this is விச்சாதிர: see *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II, p. 107.



- TRANSLATION.

Ida idurâi-nâdu, Vanavâsi, whose unbroken hedge of forest (*trees*) was extending; Kollippâkkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood; Mannaiikkadakkam, whose fortification was unapproachable; the crown of the king of Îlam who came to close quarters in fighting; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (*king*); the beautiful crown and Indra's pearl necklace, which the king of the south (*i.e.*, the Pândya) had previously deposited with that (*king of Îlam*); the whole Îla-maṇḍala (*on*) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland emitting beautiful rays, family treasures, which the (*kings of*) Kêraḷa, whose armies possessing missile weapons, rightfully wore; many ancient islands whose old, great guard was the ocean which resounds with its conches; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmî) which Paraśurâma, having considered the fortifications of Śândimattîvu impregnable, had deposited (*there*), when, in anger (*he*) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half *lakshas* of Iraṭṭapâḍi (*which was*) strong by nature, (*and which he took*), together with immeasurable fame, (*from*) Jayasîmha, who, out of fear, turned his back at Mûsangi and hid himself (*thus earning*) great infame; the principal great mountains (*which contained*) the nine treasures (*of* Kubêra); Śakkarakôṭṭam (*guarded by*) brave warriors; the ancient and strong northern Madura-maṇḍala; Nâmanaikkôṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves; Pañchapalli (*protected by*) warriors (*who bore*) cruel bows; the moth (*-grown*) ancient Mâsunidêśa;

¹⁰ Read மிகுதிக்குறைவு.

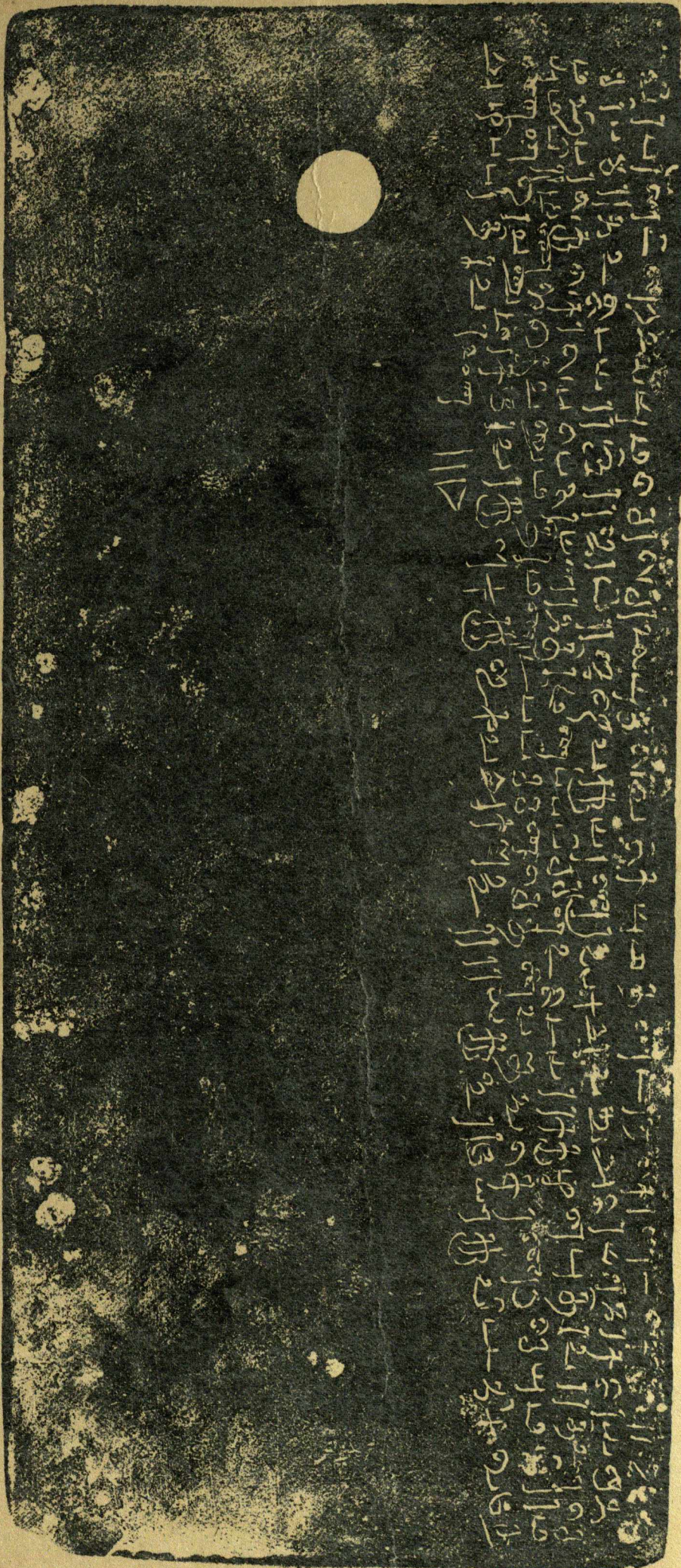
a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the beautiful city of Âdinagar, filled with unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fight; the good Kôśalai-nâḍu, where Brâhmanas abounded; Dandabutti, in whose gardens beetles abounded (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapâla (*in*) a hot battle; Takkana-Lâḍam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśûra; Vaṅgâlâ-dêśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (*and from which*) Gôvindachandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*), after having been pleased to put to fright on a hot battle-field, Mahîpâla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttira-Lâḍam in the neighbourhood of the expansive ocean abounding in pearls; and the Gaṅgâ, whose waters dashed against the banks filled with fragrant flowers; and (*who*), having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgrâma-vijayôttuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍâram, along with (*his*) rutting elephants, which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated; the (*arch called*) Vidyâdhara-tôraṇa put up at the “gate” of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war; the “jewel-gate”, adorned with great splendour; the “gate of large jewels” the prosperous Śrî-Vishaiya; Paṇṇai with a ghat of (*bathing*) water; the ancient Malaiyûr (*with*) a fort situated on a fine hill; Mâyirudiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat; Ilaṅgâśôgam (*i.e.*, Lankâśôka) undaunted (*in*) fierce battles; Mâppappâlam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mēvilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippandûru, possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle; the principal (*city of*) Takkôlam, praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences; the island of Mâdamaliṅgam, of strong battlements; Ilâmuri-dêśam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength; the great Nakkaṡâram, whose gardens (*abounded in*) flowers dribbling honey; and Kaḍâram, of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers wearing *kaḷal*; the *dēvadâna* lands (*belonging to the temple*) of the Mahâdēva at Veṅgûrkkala-Tirukkalar in Puṇṅgarambai-nâḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolîdēva-vaḷanâḍu, measured $\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*) $19\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{160}$ and . . . This land was inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement) of the surrounding parts.

No. 208.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJADHIRAJA I.

This inscription in six lines is engraved on the second plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the 31st year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman Râjâ-dhirâja I and registers an arrangement made, by a certain Tirumanappichchan, who bore the double surname Araiyaṇ Nâgaraiyaṇ and Mahîpâlakulakâlap-pêraraiyaṇ, whereby one brahmin had to perform worship in the temple at Tirukkalar in addition to another who was doing that service till then. From the short historical introduction which states that the king with the help of his army took the head of Vîra-Pândya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilaṅgai, it is clear that “Śâlai is an important place in the Chêra dominions and not a feeding house” as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had taken to be.²

¹ Here is a figure resembling .

² See p. 65 of the *Annual Report on Archaeology* of the Travancore State for 1920-21.



TEXT¹.

- 1 வீரபாண்டி[ய*]ன் தலையும் செரல[ன்*] சாலையு[ம்*] இலங்கையும் தண்டாற் கொண்ட
கொ இராஜ[கெ]-
- 2 சரிபதராந உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜாயிராஜ டெவ[ர்*]க்கு யாண்டு நயிக ஆவது அரெய[ன்]
நாகரெயனாந
- 3 மஹிபாலகுலகாலப்பெரெய[னா]ந திருமண(ப்)ப்பிச்சன் உடையார்க்கு முன்பு திருவ-
[ர்*]ராகினை செ-
- 4 யும் பிராமணர் ஒருவனும் திருமண(ட்)ப்பிச்சன் செதனிவனங்கொண்டு செய்யும் பிராம-
5 ணன் ஒருவனுமாக இருவர்க்கு ள் க-கு தூணிகுறுணி ஆக ள் நாகுயகு உாடுயள்ள-
கூவிட்டநி கவ இது
- 6 அழிப்ப[ர்*]ர் திருவாணை || ▽

TRANSLATION.

In the 31st year of (*the reign of*) king Râjakêsarivarman *alias* Udaiyâr Srî-Râjâdhirâjadêva, who, with his army, had taken the head of Vîra-Pândya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilangai (*i.e.*, Ceylon), Araiyaṇ Nâgaraiyaṇ *alias* Mahîpâlakulakâlappêraraiyaṇ *alias* Tirumanappichchan gave 1½ (*vêli of*) land for (*yielding an income of*) 150 (*kalam of paddy*) for the expenses of two brahmins, *viz.*, one brahmin, performing the worship of the god from of old and one brahmin who is to perform (*the same*) receiving the income provided for by Tirumanappichchan at the rate of (one) *tuni* and (one) *kurunî* of paddy per day for 360 days. Those who destroy this (*shall incur the sin of acting against*) the sacred (*or royal*) order.

No. 209.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

This inscription in 19 lines is engraved on the third plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulôttunga-Chôladêva without any distinguishing epithet or historical introduction. In the absence of these, though it is not generally possible to say to which of the three kings who bore that name this record must be attributed, yet it appears to be a record of Kulôttunga-Chôla I, since it is stated in the fourth inscription in this set in referring to this record that the king abolished tolls—which is generally a feat attributed to Kulôttunga I. It registers a gift of paddy made by a certain Sivaṇ Tillainâyakan *alias* Sîruttonḍanambi of Tannîrkunṇam in Nemali-nâḍu to the temple of Mahâdêva at Tirukkalar in Puraṅgarambai-nâḍu which was a sub-division of Râjêndrasôla-valanâḍu for the purpose of taking in procession Aravâbharanadêva, for offerings to Pillaiyâr and the god in the Mûlatṭânam and for feeding devotees on the days of the new-moon.

Tannîrkunṇam, to which the donor belonged, is a village 7 miles to the east of Manṇârguḍi in the Tanjore District. The modern village of Nemmeli in the same Taluk, must have been the principal place in the division Nemali-nâḍu in which Tannîrkunṇam is said to have been situated.

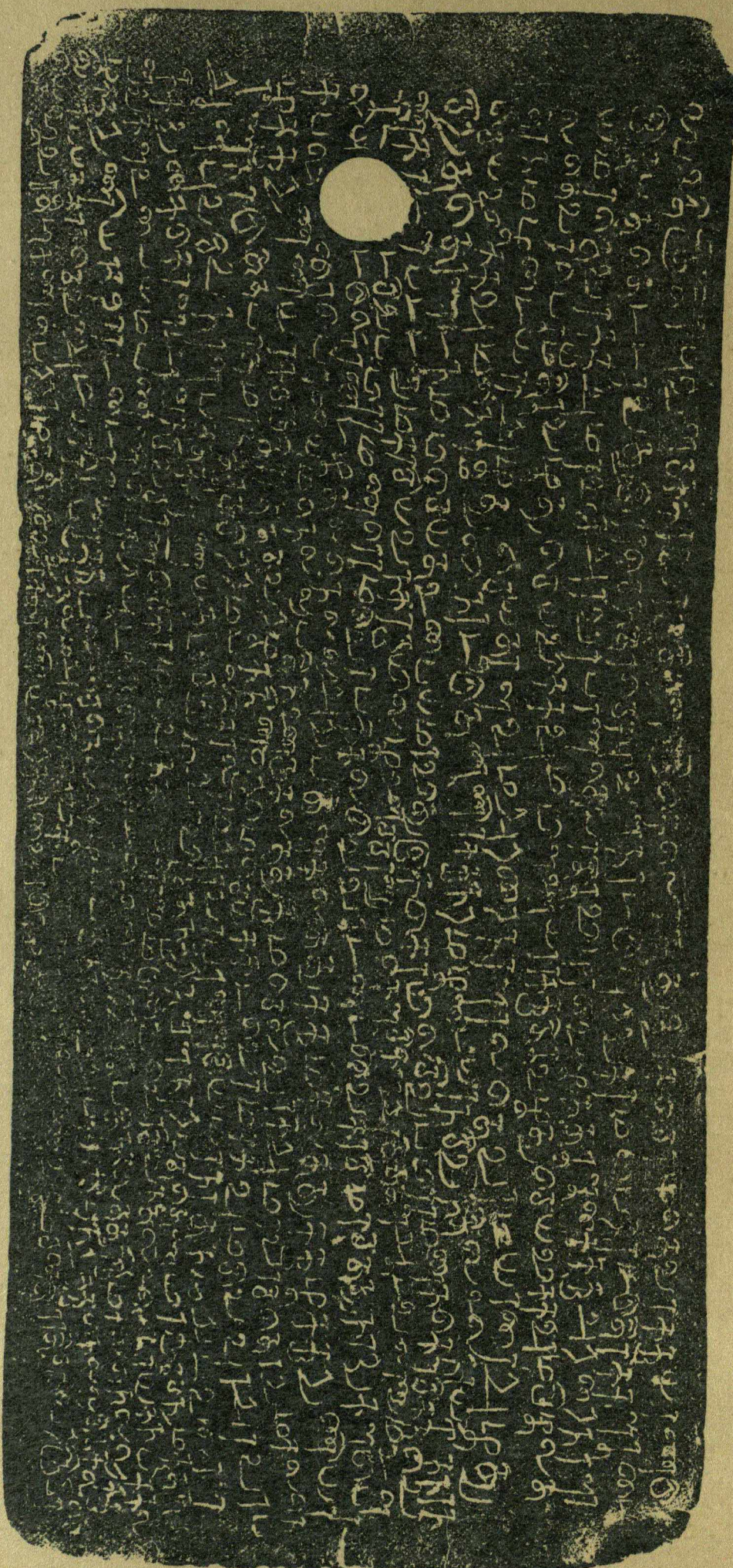
TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்வாமி ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனசக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கெ[ர்*]லொத்துங்கசொழதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு
- 2 இருபத்தெட்டாவது இராசெந்திரசொழவனநாட்டு புறங்கரம்பைநாட்டு திருக்களரு-
டை-
- 3 யமாத்தெவர்க்கு அமாவ[ர்*]சி அரவாபரணதெவர் திருவிழா வெழுந்தருளுகைக்கு அம்-
தை நாளா-

¹ This inscription is written on one side of this plate and the other side is left blank.

² These are expressed by symbols.

TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA CHOLA.



18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

- 4 ல் தெவர் பெரும் திருவமுது செய்விக்கவும் பிள்ளையார்க்கு திருவமுது செய்விக்கவும் ஸ்ரீ-மூலத்-
- 5 தாநம்முடையார் அமுதுசெய்தருளவும் அற்றை நாளால் தெவாடியாரை அமுது-
- 6 செய்விக்கவும் நென்மலிநாட்டு தண்ணிர்க்குந்மம்முடையார் சிவந் தில்லை நாயக(ந்)நாந
- 7 சிறுத்தொண்டநம்பி செய்த உபையமாவிது [1*] இக்கொயில் சிவப்பிராமணந் கௌசிகந் வெ-
- 8 ண்காடன்பட்டனும் காசியவந் காறாயில் முளைச்சானும் கௌசிகன் ¹அதித்தன் ஆடவலா-
னும் உள்-
- 9 ளிட்ட சிவப்பிராமணரொம் இவர்பக்கல் இவ்வாட்டை வைகாசி மாசத்து நாங்கள் பொ-
- 10 வியுட்டு² கொண்ட முதல் நெல்[லு] அறுபதின் கலத்துக்கும் கலத்துக்கு முக்குறுணியா-
- 11 க பவிசை பொவியும் நெல்லு பதி(ந்)னைஞ்கலத்து[க்*]கும் செலவாக அமாவாசிதொறும்
கலநெ
- 12 முக்குறு(ண்)ணியாக ³சந்திராதித்தவம் மு[ந்]சின்னொமெ செயக்கடவொமாகவும் இவ்-
வர்⁴ அரவாப-
- 13 ரணந் எடுத்தபாதமாந திருச்சிற்றம்பலக்காலா[னு*]ம் அரவாபரணன் இயபர[த*]நாத-
நம்⁵ ஆடவலான்
- 14 ஆன புவசிவநான⁶ பத்த[ர்*]க(ள்)னாக பி[ச்*]சனும் அரவிந்தந் குற்றனை நாற்பத்தெ-
[ண்*]னாயிரபிச்சநும் கூத்த-
- 15 ந் கங்கைகொண்டானை சிவசரணசெகரமுவுந்தவெளானும்[*] இவைவொ[ம்*] சிவந்
தில்லைநாயகந் பக்கல்
- 16 னங்கள் உபையம் பண்ணி பொவியூட்டுக்கொண்ட நெல்லு நூற்று⁷ இருபதின் கலத்துக்-
கும் கலநெல்லுக்கு
- 17 முக்குறுணியாக ஓராட்டைநாளைக்கு பவிசை நெல்லு முப்பதின் கலம்[1*] அமாவாசி ஒந்-
றுக்கு நெல்லு இருகலநெ
- 18 ⁸துணிப்பத[க்*]காக தெவர் அடியார் முப்பது கலம் அமுது செவி[க்கக்*]கடவொ[ம்*]
எங்களில் புணைவ[ச]ம்[1*]சன்திராதித்தவம் ஸ்ரீநா-
- 19 யெஸ்-வ[ர*]நாடு[க்ஷ] கணபெற்றார் மாயெசுவரக் காணியாநிற்க [1*] இவை எ[ன்*]
நெ[ழுது] [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, Śivan Tillainâyagan *alias* Śiruttonḍanambi of Tannîrkunṇam in Neṇmali-nâḍu made the following gift to (*the temple of*) Mahâdêva of Tirukkalar in Puṇṇangarambainâḍu (*a subdivision*) of Râjêndrasôḷa-valâṇadu, for the purpose of conducting the festival of Aravâbharanadêva on the day of the new-moon, the grand offerings to the god to be made on that day, offerings to Pillaiyâr (*i.e.*, Gaṇapati), offerings to the god in the central shrine (*Mûlasthâna*) and for the feeding of the devotees (*dêvaradiyâr*) (*to be made*) on the (*same*) day.

For the interest in paddy of fifteen *kalam* which accrues at the rate of three *kurunî* per *kalam* on the sixty *kalam* of paddy which, we the Śiva-Brâhmanas, (*viz.*,) Kausikan Venkâdabhaṭṭan, Kâśyapan Kârâyil Mulaichchan, Kausikan Âdittan Âḍavallân and other Śiva-Brâhmanas of this temple had received as principal for (*bearing*) interest from this person (*i.e.*, Śivan Tillainâyagan) in the month of Vaigâśi of this year, we the five *viz.*, Aravâbharanan Eduttapâdam *alias* Tiruchchirrambalakkâlân, Aravâbharanan Iyabaradanâḍan,

¹ Read ஆதித்தன்.

² Read யூட்டு.

³ Read சந்தி.

⁴ Read இவ்வர்.

⁵ Read நாதனும்,

⁶ Read புவசிவ.

⁷ Read நூற்று.

⁸ Read தூணிப்பதக்காக.

Âdavallân *alias* Pârvasivan *alias* Pattarganâyaka-Pichchan, Aravindan Kuran *alias* Nârpattennâyira-Pichchan, Kûttan Gângai-konḍân *alias* Sivaśaranaśêgara-Mûvêndavêlân of this village, who came forward (*for this purpose*) shall conduct the (*specified*) expenses on each new-moon day, at the rate of (*one*) *kalam* and three *kuruni* as long as the Moon and the Sun (*endure*).

For the (*one*) hundred and twenty *kalam* of paddy which we had received on interest by agreement from Sivan Tillainâyagan of this village, the interest in paddy for a period of one year calculated at the rate of three *kuruni* per *kalam*, is thirty *kalam*.

With these thirty *kalam*, through those who stand for us we shall feed the devotees at the rate of two *kalam*, (*one*) *tûni* and (*one*) *padakku* of paddy for one new-moon day.

As long as the sun and the moon (*endure*), the Srî-Mâhêśvaras shall be surety (*for this*). Kanperrân shall be in charge of the Mâhêśvara-kâni. This is my writing.

No. 210.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RAJARAJADEVA.

This is the fourth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on the second side of the third plate and belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Râjarâjadêva. It records that some of the families of the donees, who received the gift made by Sivan Tillainâyagan of Tannîrkunram in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Uhôla, the abolisher of tolls, ceased to have male members and that in consequence a question arising as to how the feeding pertaining to these families should be conducted in future, the Mâhêśvaras settled that the feeding stipulated in the grant to be done by the donees devolved on the female descendants as well and that arrangements were made in accordance with that order. The inscription may probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja II, though the distinguishing epithet of the king is missing and the characters appear to belong to a later period.

TEXT.

- 1 ஸுவீ ஸ்ரீ[*]கிரிபுவ[னசக்கரவத்தி]கள் ஸ்ரீ இராஜராஜதேவம்[கு] யாண்டு பதிநெ-
டாவது நாள்
- 2 நூற்றெண்பதிநால் இராசேந்திரசொழவளநாட்டுப் புறங்கரம்பைநாட்டுத் திரு-
3 க்களர் முளைத்த மாதேவற்கு அமாவாசி எழுந்தருளி தேவரடியாரை அமுது செய்வி-
4 க்கச் சங்கந்தவுத்தருளின கொலொத்துங்கசொழதேவற்கு இருபத்தெட்டாவ[வ]-
5 து தண்ணிற்குன்றமுடையான் சிவந்தில்லைநாயகப் பக்கல் இத்தேவர் திருமடை-
6 [விள]ராகத்திருக்கும் ஆண்டார்கள் உபையமாக கொண்ட நெல்லுக்கு அமுது செய்[வி]-
7 க்கும்படிக்கு முன்பு வெட்டின செப்பெட்டுபடியில் உபையங்கொண்டு அமு-
8 துசெய்வித்துவருகிற ஆண்டார்களில் ஆண்வழி அற்றுப் பெண்வழியா-
9 ன் கொத்துக்கு அமுது செய்விக்கும்படி கனகராயரும் ஸ்ரீமாகெசுவர-
10 ரும் அறுதி பண்ணுகிற இடத்துப் பொவிண்டிப் பெண்வழியும் வருமெ-
11 ன்று ஸ்ரீமாகெசுவரர் நிச்சயித்தமையில் இப்படி சம்மதித்துப் பெண்வழியி-
12 லார் இட்ட திட்டப்படி ஆடவலான் பூர்வகிவனாந பத்தகநாயகப் பிச்சந் மக-
13 னைக் கொண்ட கண்பெற்றான் மன்று நிறைந்தானான அன்பற்கடி-
14 யார் அமுது செய்விக்கும் பெர் முற்று இவன் கொழுந்தி மகந் தேவன்
15 [கிவாகர்?]ன் உள்ளிட்டார் அமுது செய்விக்கும் பெர் முற்றும் ஆண்வழி திருச்சிற்-
16 ம்பலக்காலான் அமுது செய்விக்கும் ஐஞ்ச கூறிட் டிரண்டு கூற்றால் பெர் ப-
17 ன்நிரண்டும் அமுது செய்விக்க[*] [***]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the eighteenth year and one hundred and eightieth day of (*the reign* of) the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Râjarâjadêva, when male descendants ceased to exist in some of the families of the *ândâr* who had been living in the *tirumadai-vilâgam* of the god and who had obtained a paddy-gift for conducting the feeding specified



Handwritten Tamil script on a metal plate, arranged in approximately 16 horizontal lines. The script is densely packed and appears to be a form of classical Tamil. A circular hole is visible near the top center of the plate.

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4
6
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16

in a copper-plate grant engraved formerly (*i.e.*), in the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva, the abolisher of tolls, from Śivan Tillaināyagan of Tannirkunram, who made provision for the new-moon festival and for feeding the devotees (*dēvarāḍiyār*) of the god Mahādēva who had sprung at Tirukkalar in Puṇṅgarambai-nādu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasōḷa-valanādu and who (*i.e.*, the *āṇḍār*) had been conducting the feeding with the gifts and when Kanakarāyar and the Māhēśvaras wished to decide how the feeding pertaining to the families having only female descendants should be conducted, the Māhēśvaras came to the settlement that the feeding from the interest (*of a gift*) devolved also on the female descendants. It was so agreed and that in accordance with the agreement made by the female descendants, (*it was decided that*) three persons had to be fed by Kanperṛāṇ Manṇuniraindān *alias* Anbarkāḍiyān who had taken (*to wife*) the daughter of Āḍavallān Pūrvāsivan *alias* Pattarganāyaga-Pichchan, that three persons had to be fed by Dēvan Divākaraṇ, the son of her *koḷundi* (husband's younger sister) and others and that twelve persons pertaining to two shares out of the (*whole*) five,—which (*number*) was fed by Tiruchchirrambalakkālān,—shall now be fed by the male descendants (*of his*).

No. 211.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

This is the fifth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on both sides of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth. It is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva (*i.e.*, Kulōttunga III) who took Madura, Ceylon, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya king and furnishes a list of gold and silver ornaments belonging to the temple at Tirukkalar with their weights as measured by the standard weight called the *kuḍṇai-kul* and the fineness in each case.

First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் மதுரையும் சமுமுங் கருஞரும் பாண்டியன் மு-
டித்தலையுங் கொண்டருளி-
- 2 ய ஸ்ரீகுலொத்துங்க சொழதெவற்கு யாண்டு உயசு-வது திருக்களர் முனைத்த நாயனார்
கொ-
- 3 யில் திருவாபரணத்துக்கு முதல் குடினைக்கல்விடை திருக்கொள்கை க-ம் இதன் வெ-
- 4 மல் பறமமும் உட்பட அஇவறு மாறிபொன் நூற்றொரு கழஞ்சரை இதன் விளிம்பி-
- 5 ம் திரைத்த வெள்ளி பதினாழ்கழஞ்செ முக்கால் ||— திருவொதாரமலை பொற்பு ப-
- 6 தினாநால் அஇ மாறி பொன் பன்னிரு கழஞ்ச ||— திருவுத்தரியம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி
- 7 பொன் இருகழஞ்செ நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா ||— திருப்பிறை க-னால் அ மு-
- 8 க்கால் மாறி பொன் முக்கால் ||— கன்னபுஜி[ம்*] க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்ச-
- 9 செ கால் ||— திருப்பட்டிகைப்பலகை க-னால் அவ மாறி பொன் அறுபத்து
- 10 நாற்கழஞ்சரை இதன் விளிம்பித்திரைத்த வெள்ளி பத்தொன்பதின் கழஞ்சரை-
- 11 ய நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா இதனுள் பலவிடத்துந் தைத்த செப்பாணி இடை
- 12 ஆறரை பலம் ||— அன்னியுடைய ரிட்ட பொற்பு க-னால் பொன் கழஞ்ச இது கொத்த
- 13 வெள்ளிக்கறை க-னால் வெள்ளி அரைக் கழஞ்ச ||— உய-வது மாளிகை முலபண்டார-
- 14 த்திநின்றும் வந்த திருப்பட்டம் க-னால் பொன் எழுகழஞ்செ கால் ||—

Second Side.

- 15 திருப்பள்ளியறை நாச்சியார்[க்*]குச் சாத்துகிற சிறுதாவி க-ம் மணி க-னாலும் பொன்
இர-
- 16 ண்டுமஞ்சாடியு² நாலுமா இது மாற்று அஇ இது கொத்த காறை க-னால் வெள்ளி கால்
- 17 திருமங்கலநாண் க-ம் தாவி க-ம் கொக்குவாய் படுகண் உட்பட கூ மாறி பொன்
இருகழ-

¹ Read °வுதா.

² The syllables டியு are engraved below the line.

- 18 ன்சு ||— அரவாபரணதேவற்குச்சாத்தியருள உயந-வது பொதிமங்கலமுடையான்
19 இராசாண்டானுந சொழவிச்சாதரப்பல்லவரையர் செய்வித்த திருவாசிகை க-ன-
20 ல் அவப மாறி பொன் இருதாற்றைம்பத்து ஐங்கழஞ்செ காலெ முன்று
21 மஞ்சாடியு மஞ்சமா ||— அபிஷேகம் க-னால் கூஇ மாறி பொன் பதினாறு க-
22 முஞ்சரை ||— இத்தேவர் திருவாசம் க-னால் சுவ மாறி பொன் நாற்கழஞ்செ முக்கா-
23 லெ இரண்டு மஞ்சாடியும் எழுமா ||— இவர் திருத்தொடு உ-னால் அவ மாறி
பொன்
24 முக்கழஞ்சு ||— இவர் நாச்சியார் அபிஷேகம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் பதின் கழஞ்-
25 சு ||— இவர் திருவாசம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்செ கால் || இவர்(த்)தொடு
உ-ன-
26 ல் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு ||— திருவட்டமணி உயச-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன்
கழஞ்சரை
27 திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி நய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்செ இரண்டு மஞ்-
சாடி-
28 யு நா[ஊ] மா || — திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன்
.....¹ மா ||-

First Side.

- 29 திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு ||— திருச்சி-
30 லம்பு ஓரணையினால் அக மாறி பொன் நாற்கழஞ்சு ||— நிறைதவஞ்செய்த நாச்சியா-
31 ற்குச் சாத்தியருள திருவையாறுடையா ரிட்ட திருவபிஷேகம் க-னால் கூ மாறி பொன்
32 பதினாங்கழஞ்சரை ||— திருநெற்றித்திறனை க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் ஐங்கழஞ்செ
33 கால் ||— திருமங்கலநாண் க தாவி கடைத்தொழிலுட்பட அஇ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சு ||—
34 திருத்தாவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் கூ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சு ||— திருக்கைச்சரி ச-னால்
கூ மா-
35 றி பொன் இருகழஞ்செ முக்காலெ மஞ்சாடி ||— வெள்ளிமணி நயநு-னால் வெள்ளி
36 முக்காலெ இரண்டு மஞ்சாடியு முன்று மா ||— வெள்ளிக்காறை க-னால் வெள்ளி
37 முக்காலெ இரண்டு² மஞ்சாடி இதில் கொத்த தாவி க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் அரைக்
கழஞ்சு ||—
38 திருத்தொடு உ-னால் அக மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சரை || திருவாசம் க-னால் பொன்
39 ³ || சிரச்சக்கரம் க-னால் கூ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு || திருக்கண்டவாளி உ-னால் கூ மா-
40 றி பொன் முக்கால் || உடையாற்கு திருமஞ்சனத்து⁴க்குச் சாத்தியருள உடையார்
சொழவிச்சா-
41 திரப்பல்லவரையர் இட்ட திருவுத்தரியம் க-னால் பொன் முக்காலெ நாலு மஞ்சாடியு-
42 ம் ஆறுமா || மாற்று காசமி || திருவாசிகைப்புரிமத்தில்⁵ பாம்பு க-னால் பொன் கழஞ்-
43 செ முக்காலெ இரண்டு மா ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 26th year of (the reign of) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva who had been pleased to take Madura, Îlam (i.e., Ceylon) Karuvûr and the crowned head of the Pândya (king), the following list of sacred ornaments in the temple of the Nâyanaîr who had sprung at Tirukkalar, was made weighed with the *kudîrai-kal*:—

1 *tirukkolgai*; inclusive of the *parama* over this, one hundred and one *kalaiñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness; silver fastened to the edges weigh fourteen *kalaiñju* and three-fourths.

By sixteen gold flowers in the *tiruvodaramalai*, twelve *kalaiñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred upper-cloth (*tiruvuttariyam*), two *kalaiñju*, four *manjâdi* and six *mâ* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred crescent (*tiruppirai*), three-fourth (*kalaiñju*) of gold of 8 and three-fourths fineness.

¹ The figures engraved here are ழபபுய which may stand for 1 *kalaiñju*, 8 *manjâdi* and 2 *mâ*.

² ௨ is written below the line.

³ Not filled in.

⁴ The two letters த்து are entered below the line.

⁵ This word may also be read பாம்பு.



i.

திருநெல்வேலி... 2
... 4
... 6
... 8
... 10
... 12
... 14

ii a.

... 16
... 18
... 20
... 22
... 24
... 26
... 28

ii b.

... 30
... 32
... 34
... 36
... 38
... 40
... 42



By 3 ear-flowers (*kannapushpam*), two *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred girdle-plate (*tiruppattigai-pūlagai*), sixty-four *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness. Silver, covering the edges of this, nineteen *kalāñju* and a half, four *mañjādi* and six *mā*. The weight of copper nails fixed in the several parts of this (*ornament*) is six and half *palam*.

By 1 gold flower given by Annīyudaiyār, one *kalāñju* of gold. By one silver necklace in which this was strung, half a *kalāñju* of silver.

By 1 sacred diadem (*tiruppattum*) received in the 20th (year) from the central treasury of the palace (*māligai*), seven *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold.

By 1 small marriage-badge (*tāli*) to be worn by the goddess of the bed-chamber and one *mañi* (gem), two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold. This is of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness. By 1 necklace on which this was strung, quarter (*kalāñju*) of silver. Inclusive of 1 string of the marriage-badge, 1 marriage-badge, together with the *kokkuvāy* and *paḍugaṇ*, two *kalāñju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 garland (*tiruvāsigai*) made by Irāsāṇḍāṇ alias Śōlavichchādira Pallavaraiyar of Pōdimāṅgalam in the 23rd (year of reign), for being put on (the image of) Aravābharaṇadēva, two hundred and fifty-five *kalāñju* and a quarter, three *mañjādi* and five *mā* of gold of $8\frac{5}{8}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishēka*, sixteen *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $9\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred garland (*tiruvāram*) of this god, four *kalāñju* and three-fourths, two *mañjādi* and seven *mā* of gold of $9\frac{1}{4}$ fineness.

By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tirutōdu*) of this (god), three *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishēka* of the consort of this (god), ten *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred garland (*tiruvāram*) of this (god) two *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 2 ear-rings (*tōdu*) of this (god), two *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 24 sacred round beads (*tiruvattamani*), (one) *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness. By 1 string of sacred round beads (*tiruvattamani*) and 30 beads, (one) *kalāñju*, two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, [1 *kalāñju*, 8 *mañjādi* and 2 *mā*]¹ of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, two *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 pair of sacred anklet (*tiruchhilambu*), four *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness.

By 1 *tiru-abhishēkam* presented by Tiruvaiyārūdaiyāṇ for being worn by the Nāchchīyār (i.e., the goddess Pārvatī) who performed full penance, fifteen *kalāñju* and a half of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 *tiraṇai* for the forehead, five *kalāñju* and quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of marriage-badge inclusive of the end-workings of the marriage-badge, (one) *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred foot-string (*tirutāvadam*), and 41 beads, (one) *kalāñju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 4 sacred wristlets, two *kalāñju* and three fourths and (one) *mañjādi* of gold of 9 fineness.

¹ Expressed by symbols : see page 474, note 1.

By 35 silver beads, three-fourths of a (*kalāñju*), two *mañjādi* and three *mā* of silver.
 By 1 silver bracelet (*kārai*), three fourths (*kalāñju*) and two (*mañjādi*) of silver.
 By 1 marriage-badge strung on this, half a *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.
 By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tiruttōdu*), (one) *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness.
 By 1 sacred garland gold.¹
 By 1 head circlet (*śirachakram*), two *kalāñju* of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 2 sacred necklaces (*tirukkanda-vāli*), three-fourths (*of a kalāñju*) of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 1 sacred upper cloth presented by Udayār Śōlavichchādira-Pallavaraiyar to be worn by the god during the sacred bath, three-fourths (*of a kalāñju*), four *mañjādi* and six *mā* of gold.²

By 1 snake in the *tiruvāśigaippurimam*, (one) *kalāñju* and three-fourths and two *mā* of gold.

TWO CHOLA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 212.—TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN.³

This short inscription in seven lines is engraved on the first side of the first plate of the set of copper-plates obtained from M.R.Ry. Muthuswamy Konar of Tiruchchengōdu. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of king Rājākēsarivarman and registers evidently an order of one of the feudatory chiefs of the sovereign named Malavaraiyaṇ Sundaraśōlaṇ, stating that the taxes on full house-sites and half house-sites shall be recovered at $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th (*kāsu*?) respectively from the citizens of Tūśiyūr and that fines and faults, if any, shall be realised at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram. The chief Malavaraiyaṇ Sundaraśōlaṇ gets the surnames Piradigaṇḍaṇ and Kolli-Malavaṇ in B and Orriyūraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman in No. 213. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has identified the king Rājākēsarivarman of this and the following record with Rājarāja I and notes as follows regarding the donor's father who, in B is stated to have died at Îlam (i.e., Ceylon)⁴:—"He was evidently a military officer of Rājarāja I or of one of his predecessors. An inscription from Tiruvenkādu of the time of Rājarāja I refers to the general Śiriyavēlaṇ of Kodumbālūr who fell in a battle-field in Îlam in the ninth year of Poṇmāligai-tuñjina-dēva (i.e., Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II). It is not impossible that the father of Malavaraiyaṇ was also connected with the battle in which Śiriyavēlaṇ fell".

It is not possible to identify Tūśiyūr mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.⁵

A.

1 ஸ்லீஸ் ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொவிராஜகேசரிபன்மற்கு⁶ யா-

2 ண்டெய் ஆவது மழவரையன் சுந்தரசொழனெ-

3 ண்⁷ தூசியூர் நகரத்தாரை நாங் கொள்ளும் மிறை முழும-

4 ணை காலும் அரைமனை அரைக்காலும் நின்ற இறைஆ-

¹ Details regarding this item are omitted to be given in the original.

² After this occurs the phrase மாற்று காசுமி whose significance cannot be made out.

³ This is registered as No. 10 of App. A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14, Part II, paragraph 15.

⁵ From impressions (received from) the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁶ Pulli is marked in some places and left out in others.

⁷ Here the word ஓலை seems to have been omitted.

- 5 கக் கொள்வதாகவும் தண்டங்குற்ற முள்ளது நந்திபுர ம-
6 ற்சாதி¹ கொள்வதாகவும் இதன் நென்றான் ஸுகிதசந்தான-
7 ம் துப்பன வறுவான் இது இர[க்ஷ]த்தானடி என் தலை மெலது.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 10th year of (*the reign of*) king Râjakêsarivarman, I, Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundaraśōḷaṇ (*ordered as follows*):—

The tax which we used to receive from the citizens of Tûsiyûr (*viz.*) one-fourth (*kâṣu*) on (*each*) full house-site, and one-eighth on (*each*) half house-site shall be realised as permanent tax ; any fine or fault shall be realised according to (*the rate prevalent at*) Nandipuram. The merit and progeny of him who contradicts this shall be entirely² cut off. The feet of him who protects this shall (*rest*) on my head.

TEXT.

B³.

- 1 ஸுவீ ஸீ [||*] கொல்லிமழவன் பிரதிகண்டன் சுந்தரசொழனென்
2 ஏங்களாச்ச ரிழத்துப் பட அவர் ஸீஜாஹத்துக்குச் சிறு-
3 பாடு கல்லொடு குழிக்குத் தென்மெ[ற்*]க்கு தூசியுர்⁴ தி-

Second Side.

- 4 ருக்கற்றளி பரஸேஸுரர்க்கு செதுகுடுத்தென் பிரதிகண்-
5 டன் சுந்தரசொழனென் ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! My father having been killed in Îlam (Ceylon), I, Kollimalavaṇ Piradigaṇḍaṇ Sundaraśōḷaṇ,⁵ made a *śirupāḍu*⁶ to the south-west of the boulder with a hole and gave it to the lord of the sacred stone temple at Tûsiyûr for (*appeasing*) his thirst.

No. 213.—TIRUCHOHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN.⁷

This inscription, engraved on three plates—the last bearing writing only on the inner side—is dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman (identified with Râjarâja I) and registers gifts of lands made by the chief Kollimalavaṇ Orriyûraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman, to the temple of Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna at Tûsiyûr. Boundaries of the lands granted are furnished in detail and therein figure Kaṇṇâḍu, the dams called Pûnâraru-aṇai and Kallôḍu-aṇai, the tanks Śûlai-kuḷam also known as Kândaḷêri, Tâmaraiḱkuḷam and Karraḷi-êri also named Pudukkuḷam, the temple of Tântônripirâṇ, Mûkkurukkâ, Kaṭṭinâgankûval-iṭṭêr and Kaṇavadinallûr, otherwise called A mankudi.

¹ Cf. *maryāda* in Sanskrit.

² With துப்பன cf. தப்புர or தப்புரவாய்.

³ This inscription is engraved below A and continued on the other side of the plate.

⁴ Read தூசியுர்.

⁵ This name is repeated twice in the inscription.

⁶ The word *śirupāḍu* seems to be connected with *śirupāḍu* 'small savings effected by females and youngsters'. In the text, it may refer to some land or property, which the donor might have obtained out of the savings effected by him in his youth.

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 11 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1914.

Kannādu (*kal-nādu*) which occurs more than once in this inscription refers evidently to hero-stones which are stated in ancient Tamil literature, as having been put up with great ceremony in honour of persons who had done valorous deeds in guarding their country and given up their lives in that cause. Being associated with the word பெருவரம்பு it may even be an engraver's mistake for *kannārru*.

Traces of writing found in lines 13, 28, 29, 30 and 33 indicate that the present inscription is a palimpsest.

It is not possible to identify the places mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Plate : First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ² ஸ்ரீ² [||*]
- 2 கொவிராஜகெவலிவந்³[ர்க்*]கூத் திருவெழுத்தி-
- 3 (ருவெழுத்தி)ட்டுச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு அஞ்சாவது இவ்வ[ர*]ண்டு கொல்-
- 4 மிமழவன் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டவ⁴ஜென் என்னாட்டுத் தூசியூர்-
- 5 த் தென்புலத் தூநிலம் கிழக்கெல்லை பிடாரியா[ர்*] நிலத்துக்கும்
- 6 அமைச்சிக்கும் பூநாற்றி அணைக்கு⁵[ம்*] மெக்கும் தெற்கெல்லை திருப்பா-
- 7 றைக்குக் கிழக்குக் கன்னாட்டுக்கும் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் திரு-
- 8 ப்ப[ர*]மைக்கு மெக்கு கன்னாட்டுக்கும் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் மெ-
- 9 க்கெல்லை குளையுளமான காந்தளெரிக்குந் தான்னென்றிப்பிரான் கொ-

First Plate : Second Side.

- 10 யிலுந் தூசியூர்த் தென்வாய் வாயிலினின்று தெற்கு நொக்கிப்
- 11 (ப்) பொன பெருவழிக்கும் கிழக்கும் வடக்கெல்லை தூசியூருப்³ பழைய-
- 12 க்குத் தெற்கும் தாமரைக்குளமும் இக்குளத்தால் நிற்கொவை
- 13 யும் இதடுபிரன்⁴ ஹமியும் கற்றளியெரியான புதுக்குள-
- 14 மும் இக்குளத்து நிற்கொவையும் இக்குளக்கிழை-
- 15 லையாவது கிழக்கெல்லை கன்னாட்டுக்கு மெக்குந்
- 16 தெற்கெல்லை கட்டிநாகன்கூவ விட்டு⁵ வடக்கு மெக்[கெ*]-
- 17 லை முக்குறுகாவிற்கு கிழக்கும் வடக்கெல்லை எரிக்கு-
- 18 ந் தெற்கும் கணவதிலலூரான அமண்குடியும் அவ்வு-
- 19 ர் நன்புலமும் செப்புலமும் இவ்விசைத்த பெருநான்-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 20 (டு)கெல்லையி னிலம் மெனாக்கின மரமும் கிழ-
- 21 நொக்கின கிணறும் புற்று முடக்குறையும் உடம்பொடி யா-
- 22 மை தவழந்தது எப்பெரப்பட்ட நிலமும் தூசியூர்-
- 23 த் திருக்கற்றளி திருமுலையானமுடைய பரஜேஸ்வரர்க்-
- 24 கு உடிமவ-ஓ⁶ஞ் செய்து எல்லையும் கல்-
- 25 லுந் தெரித்துக் குடுத்தென் கொல்மிமழவ-
- 26 ன் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டவஜென்⁷[*] கணவ-
- 27 திலலூ(ர்)ரான அமண்குடி தூசியூர் திருமுலட்டானம-
- 28 உடைய வாஜேஸ்வரர்க்கு உடிமவ-ஓ⁶கம்⁸ செய்து-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 29 தெத்தென் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டபன்-
- 30 மனென் தூசியூர் திருமுலட்டான(ர்)முடைய ப-
- 31 ரமேஸ்வரருந் தமக்கு பஞ்சமாஸஸ⁹ கொட்-

¹ From impression prepared in 1914.

² The rest of this line and a part of the next are left blank.

³ Read தூசியூர்.

⁴ This word is written over an erasure.

⁵ Read ட்டேரி.

⁶ Read செய்து.

ii b.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
अहो भवतु ते अर्जुन कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि
सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डव
पुत्र ॥ १ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदगुरुर्मातरं वन्द्यमानं ॥
कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव
तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ २ ॥
श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥
मामकाश्च पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं
पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ ३ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदगुरुर्मातरं वन्द्यमानं ॥
कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव
तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ ४ ॥

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iii.

अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवतु ते अर्जुन कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥
मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं
पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ १ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदगुरुर्मातरं वन्द्यमानं ॥
कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव
तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ २ ॥ श्रीकृष्ण
उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकाश्च
पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ ३ ॥
अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदगुरुर्मातरं वन्द्यमानं ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥
इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ ४ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदगुरुर्मातरं
वन्द्यमानं ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः ॥ मामकास्तथाऽपि सर्वे
पाण्डवाश्चैव तस्यैव शरणागतस्तथा ॥ इच्छतां धर्मं पाण्डवपुत्र ॥ ५ ॥

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- 32 தென்மேல் உவச்சகளுக்கு கணவதிலுள்ள (ர)ரான்
33 அமணகுடி உட்கழுவூர் செய்து குடுத்தே-
34 ன் திரு[க்*]கற்றளி உடைய பரமேஸ்வர[க்கு*] [||*] இதனை இ-
35 ரகதிப்பான் ஸ்ரீபாடி மென் தலைமெலன் [||*] இதன்-
36 க்கினுள் வழி யெழுச்ச மொழியாம் லாவான் [||*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 37 கொல்லிமழவன் ஒற்றியூர் பிரதிகண்டவன்மென் தாசி-
38 யூர் தெவநிலம் பழந்தெவதானம் [கு]ளேகுள(ம்)ம[ர*]ன் காந்தனெ-
39 ரிக் குளத்தின்கீழ் திருப்பாறைக்கு தெற்கு பிரமதெய[ம்*] [||*]சய்தமை-
40 யில் அந்நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் கழாறு [||*] இதுக்கு எல்லை சிறுகரைக்கு
41 மெக்கு பள்ளிச்சந்த[த்*]துக்கு வடக்கும் அமச்சிக்கு கிழ-
42 க்கும் கல்லொடணைக்கு[ம்*] குசவன்கழனிக்கு[ம்*] தெற்கு-
43 [ம்] [||*] இந்ந[ர*]ன்கு எல்லை நிலம் நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் குடத்-
44 (த்)தென் [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In this year, (viz.), the fifth year, current by the king's order, of (the reign of) king Râjakêsarivarman, I, Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piradigandavarman¹ gave with libation of water, the following lands situated within the four great boundaries described, inclusive of the trees growing thereon, the wells sunk therein, the ant-hills, the *mudakkurai*, and containing all kinds of soil where inguanas run and the tortoises crawl,—after defining the boundaries and (boundary) stones, to the god (Paramêśvara) in the sacred Mûlasthâna of the sacred stone temple at Tûsiyûr:—

The fine land in the field to the south of Tûsiyûr in my division,—the eastern boundary of which is to the west of the land belonging to Pidâriyûr, of *Amaichehi* and of the dam called Pûnârû-aṇai; the southern boundary is to the north of the big ridge and the hero-stone (*kaṇṇādu*) on the eastern side of the sacred boulder, and to the north of the hero-stone and big ridge on the western side of the (same) sacred boulder; the western boundary is to the east of the high road passing southwards from the southern entrance of Tûsiyûr and the tank called Śûlai-kulam alias Kândalêri as well as the temple of Tântôṇripirâṇ; the northern boundary is to the south of the old village of Tûsiyûr,—together with the lotus tank (Tâmarai-kulam), the *nirkôvai* (i.e., land covered with water) of this tank, the land of [Itadupivîraṇ],² and the tank known as Karraḷi-êri alias Pudukkulam, together with the *nirkôvai* of this tank.

The boundaries of the lands under this tank are as follow:—The eastern boundary is to the west of the hero-stone; the southern boundary is to the north of the by-path called Kattinâgankûvalittêr; the western boundary is to the east of Mûkkurugâ; the northern boundary is to the south of the tank; they include Kaṇavadinallûr alias Amaṇkudi together with the lands and the dry lands belonging to that village.

I, Orriyûran Piradigandavarman, gave with libation of water, Kaṇavadinallûr alias Amaṇkudi to the god Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna in Tûsiyûr. I gave with libation of water, Kaṇavadinallûr alias Amaṇkudi, to the god Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna of the stone temple³ at Tûsiyûr and to the drummers who sound the five great sounds to him. The feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head. He who acts against it, shall without faillose progeny in seven births.

¹ This name is repeated twice in the inscription.

² This is written over an erasure and the reading is tentative.

³ The words *Tirukkarrali-udaiya Paramêśvarar* have no connection with any other word in this sentence. Perhaps, க்ரு has been omitted to be engraved.

As the lands situated to the south of the sacred boulder lying under the tank known as Śūlai-kulam also called Kāndaḷēri, an old *dēvadāna* land in Tūsiyūr, had been constituted as a *brahmadēya* and given away, I, Kollimalavaṇ Orriyūraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman made Kaḷāru as a substitute for that land. The boundaries of this land are:—

To the west of Siṇukarai; to the north of the *Pallichchandam*; to the east of *Amaichchi* and to the south of the dam called Kallōḍaṇai and Kuśavaṇkaḷaṇi. As an exchange of land, I gave the land lying within these four boundaries.

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Figures enclosed in brackets refer to the pages of the Introduction; without brackets, they refer to the page of the volume; "n" after a figure to foot-notes; and "add" to the *Addenda and Corrigenda*. The following other abbreviations are used:—
Ch.=chief; co.=country; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; f.=female; k.=king; m.=male; mo.=mountain; ri.=river; s.a.=same as; sur.=surname; te.=temple; vi.=village or town; W.=Western.

A

- Abhaya, *sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 131.
Abhimānamēru, *sur. of Rājasimha III.*, 443, 459.
Abhimānamēru-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, *sur. of Kāḍaṇ Karupākaraṇ*, 428, 429.
abhishēka or tiru-abhishēka, *ornament*, 475.
abhishēka-dakṣiṇā, 377, 383.
abhishēka-maṇḍapa, 86, 329.
āchārya-pūjanai, *honorarium of priests*, 273.
Āchchaṇ Aṅgāḍi, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
Achecharapākkam, *vi.*, 131, 172, 173, 178, 193.
Āchcherumāṇ Vayiramēgaṇ, *m.*, 24.
Achechudaṇ (Achyuta) Rājarājaṇ, *ch.*, 38.
aḍai-ōlai, *deed of contract*, 381.
aḍaippaḍi, *a pledge*, 307.
Adambulāṇaḷi, *vi.*, 253.
Āḍaṇūr, *vi.*, 308.
Āḍavallāṇ, *m.*, 472, 473.
Āḍavallāṇ Śivavākyadēvaṇ, *m.*, 83.
adēyam, 256.
adīhkarin, *a magistrate*, 117, 136, 138, 151, 173, 272, 379, 438.
Āḍhipura, Āḍhipurī or Āḍhigrāma, *s.a. Oṇṇiyūr*, 132, 236, 237, 242, 243.
Āḍhipurīśvara, *te.*, 52, 132.
Adhirāja, *title*, 446.
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Adhirājarāja-valāṇāḍu, *di.*, 38.
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Āḍichchamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 31, 48.
Āḍichcha-vāykkāl, *channel*, 279, 280.
adigaḷ, *a devotee*, 230.
Adigaḷ Gaṇḍaṇ Mārambāvai, *Pallava queen*, [8], 226, 227.
Adigaḷ Nakkaṇ, *m.*, 293, 308, 312.
Adigaḷ Vīrasōḷaṇ, *m.*, 293.
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Āḍirājēndra Tamiḷadaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Piḍichchaṇ Ambalakkūttan*, 118.
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Āḍitta Ēḷāyiravaṇ, *m.*, 330 n.
Adittan, *m.*, 293.
Āḍittan Karṇalipirāṭṭi, *Chōla queen*, [13].
Āḍittaperumāṇ Sōmāsi (Sōmayājin), *m.*, 111.
Āḍitya I or Āḍityavarman, *Chōla k.*, [7], [8], [9], [10], [12], [13], 2n, 196, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 235, 238, 248, 289, 386, 387, 418, 419, 449.
Āḍitya II or Āḍityavarman, *Chōla k.*, [8], [9], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], 1, 21, 196, 249, 262, 263, 278, 279, 289, 333, 356, 375, 377, 379, 387, 420.
Āḍityadēva, *god*, 364.
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Āḍityēsvaramuṇḍaiya-Mahādēva, *god*, 276, 277.
Adiyan, *k.*, 446.
Adiyaraiyamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 234.
Adiyārkkunallār, *commentator*, 379.
Āḍuturai, *vi.*, 294.
Agai, *channel*, 171.
agam, *earth or land*, [1]n.
āgama, *scriptures*, 87, 113.
Aganāmūru, *collection of poems*, [4]n.
Agastya, *sage*, [1], 388, 422, 442, 443, 444, 446, 457, 460, 464.
Aggabōdhi, *Ceylon k.*, 449n.
agni-kārya, *fire oblation*, 286.
agnishṭai, *fire pan*, 21, 22.
Āgnivēsya, *author*, 458n.
Āgnivēsya - kalpa, *work*, 443, 444, 458n, 462.
agrahāra, *a Brāhmin village*, 443, 458n, 459.
agram, ēkāgram or uttamāgram, *a rich meal*, 233, 255n, 256n, 295.
agrasālā, *a temple-kitchen*, 233n, 256n.
agrasāla-para, *measure*, 233n.
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- Akalakāla, *sur. of Arikēsari Asamasaman Māra-varman*, 445, 446, 464.
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 Alakā, *city of Kubēra*, 418.
 ālakku, *grain and liquid measure*, 3, 11, 96, 97, 118, 189, 202, 227, 231, 233, 317, 318, 378, 382.
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VOLUME III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TAMIL COUNTRY

PARTS I AND II

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PREFACE

THIS volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions* consists of four parts of which the first, containing the texts, translations and short introductions of 63 inscriptions secured from Ukkal, Melpadi, Karuvur, Manimangalam and Tiruvallam, was issued by Dr. Hultzsch in 1899. The second part published by the same scholar in 1903 dealt with 25 mediæval Chola inscriptions and contained a full account of the political history of the period covered by the reigns of the four Chola kings Virarajendra I, Kulottunga I, Vikrama-Chola and Kulottunga III. In 1920, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri brought out the third part of the volume with texts and translations of 117 important Chola inscriptions belonging to the reigns of almost all the members of the Vijayalaya line from Aditya I to Rajendra-Chola I excepting Rajaraja I, having in view the object of writing a complete account of the Cholas in the concluding part. The special feature of this part is that it includes in it a critical edition of the Tiruvalangadu plates discovered in 1906 and briefly reviewed by Mr. Venkayya in his *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for that year. The plates furnish not only a complete genealogy of the Cholas but also give more detailed information about individual kings than are narrated in the Leyden plates, the only authority till then for Chola history. As an account of the time of Rajaraja I had been given by Mr. Venkayya in his introduction to Volume II and as the part played by the mediæval Cholas had been sketched by Dr. Hultzsch in Part II of this volume, it remained only to notice the history of the early members of the Vijayalaya line including the reign of Rajendra-Chola I. This account is now given as an introduction to the volume and is appended to Part IV which contains two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur and some minor Chola copper-plates. It is a matter for regret that Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who undertook to edit the part was not spared to see the final issue of it. The Chola history narrated in the introduction and the edition of the two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur will be remembered as his last epigraphical contribution. He left to me the verification of the index of the first three parts, the incorporation in it of the references to Part IV and introduction, the drawing up of the addenda and corrigenda, the editing of the minor Chola copper-plates and the revision of the proofs.

To be consistent with the earlier parts in the system of transliteration, the old diacritical marks have been employed in Part IV and introduction.

OOTACAMUND, }
19th March 1928. }

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.



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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 5, line 1.—For “beginning” read “adjoining.”

„ 5 „ 3.—For “the road to (the temple of) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa” read “the road (called) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇavadi.”

Lines 1 to 3 may be altered as follows:—“The land partitioned on the north (so as to) adjoin the land of Rāghavadēva and situated to the west of (the road called) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇavadi and to the north of (the channel called) Tarutambavāyakkāl.”

For note 1 on this page, substitute “அடைய” means “to meet or adjoin.”

„ 6, line 8 of Translation.—For “Odimukki[bhrān]ta-Kramavittan” read “Bhrānta-Kramavittan of Ōdimūkkil.”

„ 6, line 17 of „ —For “Muḍumbai Śandirāchcha-Tambiyum-Ullittār” read “Śandirāchchan of Muḍumbai, (his) younger brother and others.”

„ 7, text-line 3.—For தன்னெழில் read தன்னெழில்.

„ 9, line 4.—The phrase “எரிக்கட்டி” has been split into எரி and கட்டி and translated “shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation)” but it may be better to split எரிக்கட்டி into எரிக்கு and அட்டி and translate it as “giving (it) for (the maintenance of) the tank.”

„ 13, line 2.—For “per day” which is the rendering of “மெய்வேறு” substitute “each or individually” and strike out the note.

„ 17, text-line 1.—Insert a hyphen at the end of the line.

„ 17 „ 2.—For கூற்று read கூற்று.

„ 18 „ 8.—For செறுவிற் read செறுவிற்.

„ 18, No. 12, line 3.—Omit the words “for burning” in line 10 of paragraph 1 of translation.

„ 18.—For “A.D. 900 to 940” read “A.D. 907 to 953.”

Introduction of No. 12.

As No. 11 registers the general order of the assembly regarding the grant of the village of Śōdiyambākkam made in the 16th year of the King and as No. 12 states “that in accordance with that grant, the assembly refrained from paying the customary rights which were (thereby) left to the temple”, the latter record seems to have been issued subsequent to the former.

„ 20, line 7.—For “store-room” read “central shrine.”

„ 20, translation of line 9.—For “(If) a crime (or) sin becomes public, the god (i.e. temple authorities) alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village (for it)” read “The dēva (i.e., the temple authorities) alone shall realise by levying *kurra-dōsham*² and *manrupādū*³ from the inhabitants of these villages” and enter the following notes:—

1 With அணித்து cf. தண்டி “demanding.”

2 குற்றதொஷம் seems to mean “fine imposed on persons for defaults.”

3 மன்றுபாடு is also a similar fine imposed by the village assembly.

For note 9 enter “மெய்வேறு” means “individually.”

„ 24, line 13.—For “resting-place” read “tomb-shrine.”

„ 25, line 1f of Translation.—For “as a resting-place for the king who fell asleep at Ārrūr” read “as a tomb-shrine of Ārrūr-tuñjinadēva i.e. the king who died at Ārrūr.”

„ 27, line 2f.—For “the king who fell asleep at Ārrūr” read “the king who died at Ārrūr.”

„ 28, Translation, l. 9.—Change “the crown of Sundara” into “the beautiful crown.”

Page 37, line 20.—For “Pōtta[ra]yaṇ” read “Pottayaṇ.”

„ 41.—Add to the introduction of No. 22 the following :—

“It has, however, to be noted that some of the signatories have the name ‘Kulōttuṅga’ prefixed to their surnames and we do not know of any Kulōttuṅga before the first of that name who occupied the Chōḷa throne after Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva.”

„ 50, text-line 8.—For எ[த]*ச்சொறு and வெய்தி read எச்சொறு and வெய்தி.

„ „ For note 1 substitute—“As Lōkamahādēvi - chaturvēdimaṅgalam, which must have been called after Lōkamahādēvi, one of the queens of Rājarāja I, is mentioned in this inscription, the Rājakēsarivarman of this record may either be Rājarāja I or one of his successors who bore that title.

„ 55, top line.—For வெழ்குலச்சஞக்கியர் read வெழ்குலச்சஞக்கியர்.

„ 57, translation of line 6.—For “Vēlakular, Śaḷukkiyar (Chalukya)” read “the Śaḷukkiyar (Chalukyas) of the Vēl family:”—see note 7 on p. 161.

„ 85.—For முதலாக in note 4, read முதல்திற்கா: and in Translation, line 7, for “on interest” read “as fixed deposit.”

„ 90, Introduction to No. 42, line 3 end.—For “Western Gaṅga” read “Pallava.”

„ 92, translation of line 11.—For “He who destroys this (*charity*) shall incur the sin of one who kills the great men who are permanent (*members*)^a of the assembly” read “He who destroys this (*Charity*) shall incur the sin of killing the seven hundred of the *ghaṭika*.”

„ 105, translation, line 9.—For “Śamkaradēva, (the son of)” read “Tiruvaiyaṇ Śamkaradēva”: and remove “—Tiruvaiyaṇ” in the last line but one.

„ 107, Introduction to No. 53, lines 3–7.—For “Sōmanātha (*the son of*) Śamkaradēva whose . . . Rājarāja I (51). The same epithets . . . spelling” read “Śamkaradēva Sōmanātha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those that precede the name of Tiruvaiyaṇ Śamkaradēva occurring in No. 51 with nearly the same mistakes in spelling.”

„ 108, translation, line 2.—Delete the words “Sōmanātha (*the son of*).”

„ „ 4.—After “Śamkaradēva” add “Sōmanātha.”

„ 117, line 12.—For “Pulāṅgudai” read “Pulāṅguḍi.”

„ „ line 36.—For “Ḵaiyāṅkuḍai” read “Ḵaiyāṅkuḍi.”

„ „ note 7.—For “taṇḍalil - akkai” read “taṇḍal - ilakkai.”

„ 128, line 2.—For “by defeating the king of Dhārā at Śakkarakōṭṭam” read “by defeating Dhārā-varaiṣaṇ (*i. ē.*, Dhārāvarsha) at Śakkarakōṭṭam.”

„ 130, line 16f.—Omit the words “*i. ē.* the western hill country (Malabar) and the ancestors of the Nairs of the present day.”

„ 132, line 13f.—For “from the king of Dhārā” substitute “from Dhārāvaraiṣaṇ (*i. ē.*, Dhārāvarsha).”

„ 143, note 4.—For “whichpa ses” read “which passes.”

„ „ note 10.—For “ēṛachchōru” read “echchōru.”

„ 163, line 5.—For “The chief (*kōṇ*) of this village, Rājarājaṇ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Nāṇjināḍ-Uḍaiyaṇ” read “Kōṇ Rāja-rājaṇ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Nāṇjināḍ-Uḍaiyaṇ of this village.”

„ 177, note 2.—For “With *magaṇmai* ‘the daughtership’ compare the similar term *magaṇmai* ‘the sonship’ in No. 57 above, text-line 9” read “*Magaṇmai* or *magaṇmai*

is a revenue term (equivalent to *magamai*) and means according to Dr. Winslow 'the revenue of a temple or other public establishment, from the produce of land or a portion of the taxes: or the stated voluntary contribution to such an establishment'."

Page 216, note 4.—For "Vañīlam" read "Vāñīlam."

„ 242, Introduction to No. 108, line 5.—For "gives the king" read "gives the chief Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ."

Note.—According to the Tamil portion he was the donor and not the king.

Page 242—No. 108 Introduction, line 5f.—For "gives the king the title Vīrakīrti" read "gives the donor Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ the title Vīrakīrti."

„ 247, Translation, line 4.—For "Tiruvunṇāligaipuraṁ" read "Tiruvunṇāligaipuraṁ."

„ 253, end of Translation.—For "Gaṇa" read "gaṇa."

„ 260, para. 2.—The word *sabhaikūṭṭuvān* has been taken to be the proper name of a field. But it is very likely that it means "he who convenes the assembly."

„ 260, Introduction to No. 124.—Add the following:—

By its very contents which refer to the renovation of the temple and the using up of the earlier lithic records in its construction, this inscription appears to be the earliest one to be engraved on the walls of the renovated temple. As such, it must belong to the reign of Parāntaka I or his grandfather Vijayālaya, for both of them bore the title Parakēsarivarman. In this connection it may be noted that the earliest certain inscription on the walls of the temple belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I.

„ 279, Translation, line 8.—The word *Vāvu* which is not translated may be taken to refer to Pūrpimā (full moon) or Amāvāsya (new moon).

„ 290, text-line 83.—For திரு[ஊ] read திரு[வ].

„ 292, line 13.—For "Madiri" read "Madirai."

„ 293, line 4.—For "Karpagam" read "Karpagam."

„ „ line 5.—For "Tirunālūr" read "Tirunallūr."

„ „ line 7.—For "Kṛishṇaṇ" read "Kṛishṇaṇ."

„ „ line 11.—For "Nerkunṇam" read "Nerkunṇam."

„ paragraph 2, line 3.—For "naḍu" read "nāḍu."

„ 294, Introduction to No. 144, paragraph 2, line 4.—For "laksana" read "lakshana."

„ 300, last line but 2.—For "Kāraikkāṭṭu" read "Kāraikkāṭṭu."

„ 310, note 2.—For "vidha" read "vidhā."

„ 345, note 10, last line.—For "Mahāseepuraṁ" read "Mahābalipuraṁ."

„ 378, Introduction to No. 202, line 3.—For "Tiruvēlai - aṛaichchākkai" read "Tiruvēlai - aṛaichchākkai."

„ „ last line of the notes.—Supply 4 at the beginning.

„ 379, line 10.—For "Hi sname" read "His name."

„ „ text-line 4.—For திருவெள்ளை அழைச்சாக்கை[க்]கு read திருவெள்ளை அழைச்சாக்கை[க்]கு.

„ 381, translation, line 20.—Enter note 5 on the word "aḍai - olai."

„ 382, line 19.—For "nēṇṇu" read "nēṇṇu."

„ 383, line 3 of Introduction to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates—Correct "1916" into "1906".

„ 391, foot-note 6.—For "Vannāra-pḍrai" read "Vannāra-pārai."

„ 421, (v. 80).—For "Rāvana" read "Rāvaṇa."

„ 435, last line.—For "Nochchikaḷuval" read "Nochchikaḷuval."

„ 437, (L. 458)—line 6.—For "me" read "mine."

Page 460, footnote 4.—*For* “Mahâratia, Malaikalam and proferably,” *read* “Mahâratha, Malai-
kalam and preferably”.

„ 462, „ 1, line 1.—*For* “Kôttâriolil,” *read* “Kôttârpōlil”.

„ „ 1, 2.—*For* “Kôttârpōli” *read* “Kôttârpōlil”.

„ 463, „ 3.—*For* “थरणि,” *read* “घरणि”.

„ 470, Translation 1, 8.—*For* “tuni and kuṇuṇi,” *read* “tāṇi and Kuṇuṇi”.

Index p. 7.—*Against* “Eṭṭukkūr” *have* the number “71” instead of “7”.

„ p. 12.—*For* “Kauṣikan,” *read* “Kausikan” and *for* “Kavêrakaryakâ,” *read* “Kavêra-
kanyakâ”.

„ p. 29.—Second column, item 7.—*For* “Kaṭâna” *read* “Kaṭâha”.

Add. Corr., p. XIII.—*For* “p. 25 l. 1f” *read* “p. 25 l. 6f”.

INTRODUCTION.

The early ruling dynasties of Southern India were the Chêras, Chôlas and Pândyas who ethnologically are supposed to have been of a common stock, different from that of the Aryans of Northern India. Their language was Tamil and their country accordingly was known as *Tamilakam*¹ 'the country of the Tamils'. Under the Aryan influence, the name *Tamilakam* appears in later times to have been Sanskritised into *Dramilaka* or *Dramidaka* and dropping the *ka* in accordance with a rule of Sanskrit grammar it became *Dramila* *Dramida*, *Dravida* or *Drâvida*. When and how these changes took place it is difficult to say. Agastya and Paraśurâma are famous Aryan sages whose stories are intimately connected, from the epic times, with the Drâvida country, Southern India. The term *Dramidâh* occurs as the name of a country, perhaps South India, in the Bhîshmaparvan of the *Mahâbhârata*.² Manu speaks of the Dravidas as a degraded class of Kshatriyas. Ptolemy in the first century A.D. used the word *Dimirice*, perhaps, to denote the very same tract of land. In the *Brihajjâtaka* of Varâhamihira and in Hiuen Tsiang, we find it restricted to the name of a district on the east coast of the Deccan, of which the capital was Conjeeveram. The word *Tamil* means 'melodious' and it was evidently its sweetness that contributed the name Tamil to that language. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it remains a fact that the Aryans changed it into 'Dramida' first and in their characteristic way attempted afterwards to assimilate it and trace it to some Sanskrit root: this appears to have been the practice of the day, as may be inferred from the incidental note on Drâvidî words given by Bhaṭṭa Kumânila in his famous *Tantra-Vârttika*.

Ethnologists point out several racial differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans such as (1) their customs and manners, (2) their thought formations, and (3) the peculiarities in their physical build. While all this may establish Dravidians as a distinct type, it does not help the historian to peep into the antiquity of an independent Dravidian age in the South, uncontaminated by Aryan influence: much less does it enable him to record any events that might corroborate its separate existence. Tamil literature, to a certain extent, speaks of the early period of the Tamils: but the major portion of its account has yet to be worked out and proved to be a reliable record of contemporaneous events. Even the few historical facts imbedded in it, are in the usual oriental fashion mixed up with the imagery of the poet or the flattery of the courtier.

The kingdoms of the Chôḍa, Pândya and Kêralaputta (Chêra) are stated in the Rock Edicts of Aśôka to have been bordering on the dominions of the Mauryan Emperor and in the first

¹ *Tamilakam* is sometimes connected with Tamluk (Tamralipti) in Bengal it being presumed that the Tamils immigrated into the South of India by the North-Eastern route through the valley of the Brahmaputra. The expression *Tamilagam* consists of two words *Tamil* and *agam* of which the latter means 'earth or land'. In Sanskritising it into *Dramidaka* the significance of the original Tamil word *agam* does not appear to have been recognised, but the letter *ka* was retained because it was there in the original. Gradually this letter also was dropped since in Sanskrit the suffix *ka* is optionally added to a noun without causing any change in meaning. Sometimes *ka* has the diminutive significance. Thus *Dramidaka* may have been applied originally to a small district; but when the extended country had to be referred to, the suffix *ka* was dropped and only *Dramida* used.

² Ch. 9, v. 58.

of these, i.e., the Chôḍa country, the faithful (i.e., Buddhists) are reported to have been living. That Buddhism had already reached the South even before Aśoka's time is thus confirmed by the latter statement, though the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* denies the fact poetically when it says that the missionaries of Aśoka flew over Southern India direct to Ceylon from Kāṇṇa to preach the Buddhist faith there. Stronger evidences have also been recently brought to light which prove the possible influence of Buddhism in Southern India. Whatever the Epics, the Purāṇas and other early Sanskrit works may state or prove regarding the original Drāviḍa inhabitants, their country and their civilisation, positive epigraphical evidence contained in the cave inscriptions of the Madura and Tinnevely districts written in Brāhmī characters of a pre-Aśokan type, and in a language whose affinity to the Dravidian may yet be established when these queer records come to be successfully interpreted¹, shows that these natural caverns, like the thousands of similar rock-shelters of Ceylon were occupied in pre-Christian times by the Buddhists and converted by them into residences for their ascetics. The Brāhmī characters of these records at any rate must have been introduced by the Buddhists from the north or from Ceylon, though the language adopted may have been one mostly influenced by local dialects. Besides these, no further traces of Buddhism are known to exist in South India till after a long interval. In the 11th century A.D. we find gifts made to the great *vihāra* (called Pudukkottai) at Nāgapattanam (Negapatam) by the famous Chôḷa king Rājaraṇa I. Tamil literature abounds in references to Buddhist stories and authors and leaves no doubt that Buddhism thrived well from its very inception right up to the period of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava revivals in the early 7th century A.D. and perhaps in a milder form even after that period, down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era.

The Purāṇic and the Buddhist periods in the history of Southern India being thus almost a blank from an epigraphical point of view the history of the Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs handed down by tradition and recorded in the books *Periyapurāṇam* and *Guruparam-parāprabhāva* respectively, and some well-known works of the *Saṅgam* period, supply, though sparingly, some historical data to work upon. Of the latter class, the *Paṭṭiṇappāṭai* is exclusively devoted to the life of the reputed king Karikāḷa who had the banks of the Kāvêrī constructed by his vassal kings and who is said to have set his foot over the crowns of the Pāṇḍya and the Chêra². In chapter V of his *Tamils*, 1800 years ago, Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has collected all that is available in literature regarding the early Chôḷa kings of whom he mentions about eight. Karikāḷa was the most famous of them. It was he that changed his capital from Uṛaiyūr to Kāvirippūmpattinam, erected banks on either side of the river Kāvêrī, dug irrigation canals and patronised poets. After defeating the Pāṇḍyas and the Chêras, he contracted diplomatic marriage relations with the latter and political alliance with the former³. The *Kalavali*⁴ or 'the Battle-field', a poem written by the poet Poygaiyār, describes the fight at Kalumalam between the Chôḷa king Cheṅgaṇṇan or Kôchcheṅgaṇṇan and the Chêra king Kanaikkâl Irumporai, wherein the latter is stated to have been defeated and imprisoned by the

¹ See *Epigraphical Reports* of the Madras Presidency for the years 1907 and onwards. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has shown that the language of these inscriptions is Tamil and has interpreted them as such. See pages 275 to 300 of the *Proceedings and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 146 ff.

³ This king, Karikāḷa has been assigned to the 5th century A.D., See below, p. 4.

⁴ This poem has been ascribed to the 6th or 7th century A.D. by Kanakasabhai Pillai.

former but released through the intervention of the poet Poygaiyâr whose poem had such good effect on the victorious Chôla that he granted the request of the poet, viz., the release of the Chêra king. Cheṅgannāṇ is called the king of the 'country watered by the river Kāvêrî.' The same event is also referred to in the later poem, the *Kalīngattuppārāṇi* which describes the conquest of Kālīṅga by Kulōttuṅga-Chôla I. Epigraphical records describe Kôcheṅgannāṇ as a fervent devotee of Śiva and as having been freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body. In the *Periyapurāṇam*, Kôcheṅgannāṇ is stated to have been a staunch Śaiva, to have built the temple at Jambukêśvaram in the Trichinopoly district and to have restored many a Śiva temple in the Chôla country from ruin¹. Although a staunch Śaiva himself, Kôcheṅgannāṇ is stated to have built Vaishṇava temples as well. Still another early Chôla king mentioned in literature is Perunatkilli or Perunarkilli who was 'the master of many sciences.'

Kôcheṅgannāṇ and Perunarkilli, according to Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai came to the throne after Karikâla. Literature states that Killivalaṇ, the elder brother of Perunarkilli, married a Nâga princess named Pīlivalai during a romantic excursion and obtained by her a son called Tonḍai. The king made this prince the ruler of the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam and thus even the little power that might have been wielded by the Chôlas in the northern part of their vast dominions went out of their hands. Tonḍai and his descendants are known in later history as Pallavas (Tonḍaiyarkôṇ). It is significant that the destruction of the capital town of Kāvīrīppūmpattīnam happened during the reign of Killivalaṇ. Of Kôcheṅgannāṇ, the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvâr of the 8th century A.D. says that he built 70 temples for Viṣṇu. This makes Kôcheṅgannāṇ anterior to Tirumaṅgai-Ālvâr.

The *Periyapurāṇam* mentions other Chôla kings and chiefs such as Puḡalchôla-Nâyaṇâr, Iḍaṅgali-Nâyaṇâr and Kūrruva-Nâyaṇâr who are not referred to in epigraphical records.

The vague memory with which the authors of the copper-plate records refer to the three early Chôla kings is sufficient evidence to show that at the commencement of the 10th century A.D., the probable date of the earliest of these records, their names carried with them no more significance than the other legendary names in the earlier portion of the genealogical list. It is surprising also that references to their rule and to their battles are rarely, if at all, found in the thousands of Chôla inscriptions distributed over almost every part of the Chôla country. While thus the political status of these early Chôla kings was altogether forgotten at the commencement of their revival in the end of the 9th century A.D., their devotion to Śaivism which preceded this revival and their actual participation in its propaganda are established by the stories about them related in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

Of the epigraphical records, the Aṇbil plates of Sundara-Chôla (Parāntaka II) mention Kôcheṅgannāṇ as the builder of Śiva temples in various parts of his kingdom². The

¹ Prior to his birth as a king, he was a spider and long served Śiva by weaving a web over the Śivaliṅga stopping thereby the dry leaves from falling on it. The pious spider one day died in an encounter with a white elephant which had regularly been pulling out the web piously woven by it over the head of Śiva. The spider, it is stated, one day killed the elephant by biting it in its proboscis and himself also died immediately being dashed to the ground by the dying elephant. God Śiva liberated at once the spider from its animal body and blessed it to be born as the Chôla king Kôcheṅgannāṇ.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 46.

Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant and the large Leyden plates make only a mere mention of him and do not give further details. In the genealogical order, he is placed some time after the famous Karikâla who has been ascribed on other grounds roughly to the end of the 5th century A.D. Perhaps Kôchcheṅgannân was also like Karikâla a famous Chôla king of about that period¹, but unlike him he had a religious turn of mind. The Chôlas in the time of Karikâla must have still been a powerful independent race in their native country.

The Leyden plates, the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant, the Aṅbil plates of Sundara-Chôla and the Kanyâkumâri inscription of Vîrarâjendra-Chôla are the only epigraphical records discovered and published so far, that give genealogical lists of Chôla kings². These do not supply us with any other facts about the earlier members of the dynasty than what has been already gathered from literature. The mythical pedigree, in these records, which traces the Chôlas to the Sun includes such Purânic and legendary names as those of Manu, Ikshvâku, Prithu, Mândhâtri, Muchukunda, Śibi, etc., and the eponymous Chôla (son of Bharata) after whom the race received the name Chôla³. One of the legendary kings mentioned in the Kanyâkumâri record, *viz.*, Pañchapa is stated to have acquired that name by his affording protection to five Yakshas. Suraguru was another who earned the title Mrityujit, by conquering even the god of Death. Vyâghrakêtu was still another from whom the Chôlas evidently borrowed the banner of the tiger. All the kings so far enumerated, lived 'in ages prior to the Kaliyuga'. To the Kaliyuga itself belonged Karikâla, the builder of the banks of the Kâvêri and the renewer of the town of Kâñchî; Kôchcheṅgannân, the fervent devotee of Śiva, who was freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body and who much influenced the revival of Śaivism in Southern India and Perunatkilli. What then could have been the reason for the fact that the doings of these famous Chôla kings, whose constant feuds with the Pândyas and the Chêras or their diplomatic alliances with either of them are so elaborately described by contemporaneous Tamiḷ poets, faded away from the memory of the panegyrists of Sundara-Chôla (Parântaka II), Râjârâja I and Râjendra-Chôla I?⁴ We have perhaps to suppose that between Karikâla, whose time has been fixed to be about the end of the 5th century A.D., and Vijayâlaya of the 9th century, the Chôlas must have become so entirely degenerate⁵ as even to lose their identity

¹ See Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's '*Some Contributions of Southern India to Indian Culture.*'

² The Udayêndiram Plates of Prithvipati II (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 382 ff.) also supply a genealogical account of the Chôla kings. But the information given here is not so full as in the other plates, the apparent reason being that the Chôla genealogy therein is introduced only incidentally.

³ The Kanyâkumâri record gives a fanciful account of this king Chôla suggesting that he was the first to bring Brâhmanas from Âryâvarta and settle them on the banks of the Kâvêri. In early Tamiḷ literature, we find no mention of the dynastic name Chôla or its variants. How and when it came into use has yet to be inquired into. Its mention in the form Chôḍa as applied to a kingdom bordering on the dominions of Aśoka, the name *Chuliye* given by Hinen Tsiang to a district of the Telugu country, the title Chôla-Mahârâja found in some Telugu records of the 9th century A.D., the name Sôla occurring in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahâvamsa* and in some early Kannaḍa inscriptions of the Nolambas, the Sôṇâḍu, (a contraction of Sôla-nâḍu) found in the *Pattinappalai* are the only references so far available with which we may connect the modern name Chôla.

⁴ It is inferred from statements made in literature that Karikâla must have been, at the best, only an usurper and that among the kings who may have succeeded him, there was much of disunion and discontent. This was apparently the reason why they soon disappeared before the advancing Pallavas and the Pândyas.

⁵ Internal disputes and revolts during the time of Killivalavan are referred to in the *Silappadigâram*. He is also stated in the *Aganâgâru* to have advanced against Madura and to have been defeated there.

owing perhaps to the rise of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram on the one side and to the pushing inroads of the Pândyas on the other. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chôla¹ refer to a hall in the temple of Ūragam at Conjeeveram named Karikâla-terri probably after Karikâla. The defeat of the unnamed Pândya king at Vennil by Karikâla might be established if we compare this statement with the genealogical account of the Pândya dynasty given in the Vêlvikuḍi and the Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr plates. About the end of the 5th century A.D. the period of Karikâla's rule, the Pândyas appear to have been politically weak and the Pândya country itself is said to have been usurped by the Kalabhras. With the rise of Kaḍungôṇ² in that family, the Pândyas are said to have revived and spread their power. Karikâla's descendants in the bordering Chôla country were not evidently able to withstand the onrush of the Pândyas and accordingly abandoned their ancestral dominions for about 300 years at least, after Karikâla, until Vijayâlaya once again, about the end of the 9th Century A.D., recaptured Tañjâvûr and established his sway over the ancestral Chôla dominions. It is suggested that during this exile the Chôlas might have ruled as petty chiefs in the south-western part of the Telugu country and given rise there to a new family of Telugu kings of Chôla origin, whom Mr. Venkayya calls Telugu-Chôlas and who in their records claim descent from the solar race and count Karikâla as one of their famous ancestors.

A satisfactory working basis for the history of the Pallavas, the Pândyas and the revived Chôlas may be considered as fairly supplied, though, in the case of the second of these, abundant material available for the medieval period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century has not been sufficiently represented and much of the written history of the first is found distributed over various antiquarian books and journals. While, therefore, giving a full bibliography for the study of the first, and drawing special attention in this connection to the Sanskrit work *Mattavilâsa-Prahasana* composed by the great Pallava king Mahêndra-varman I, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., I propose to put together in the following pages a detailed account of the Chôlas of Tanjore as far as it could be gathered mainly from the inscriptions included in the first three volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and collating, of course, where necessary, information from other available sources. All that could be said of the early Pândyas is found *infra* in the historical introduction to the two Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr plates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

- (1) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part I (pp. 1 to 33).
- (2) A Pallava grant from Kûram, *ibid.* Part IV, Addenda No. 151.
- (3) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty, *ibid.* Vol. II, Nos. 72, 73, 74, 98 and 99.
- (4) A Prâkrit grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I, No. 1.
- (5) Two cave inscriptions from the Triśirâpalli (Trichinopoly) rock ; *ibid.* No. 9.
- (6) A Plate of a Pallava copper-plate grant ; *ibid.* No. 45 (See also *ibid.* Vol. II, No. 40).

¹ *Below*, No. 128, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 72.

² See the Vêlvikuḍi grant published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291—309.

- (7) Udayêndiram plates of Nandivarmā; *ibid*, Vol. III. No. 23 (See also *ibid*) No. 38-A).
- (8) Mahêndravâdi inscription of Guṇabhara; *ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 19.
- (9) Inscriptions at Kîl-Muttugûr and Âmbûr; *ibid*, Nos. 22 and 23.
- (10) Jaina rock-inscriptions at Pañchapâṇḍavamalai; *ibid*, No. 14-A.
- (11) Râyakôṭa plates of Skandaśishya; *ibid*, Vol. V, No. 8.
- (12) Mayidavôlu plates of Śivaskandavarman; *ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 8.
- (13) Two cave inscriptions at Śīyamaṅgalam; *ibid*, No. 32.
- (14) Three Memorial stones; *ibid*, Vol. VII, No. 4.
- (15) A rock inscription at Taṇḍalam; *ibid*, No. 5.
- (16) Inscriptions at Tirukkôvalûr; *ibid*, No. 20, A, B and C.
- (17) Inscriptions at Śôlapuram; *ibid*, No. 26-A and B.
- (18) British Museum plates of Chârudêvi; *ibid*, Vol. VIII, No. 12.
- (19) Pîkira grant of Simhavarman; *ibid*, No. 15.
- (20) Chendalûr plates of Kumâravishṇu II; *ibid*, No. 23.
- (21) Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman; *ibid*, No. 29 (See also *ibid*, Vol. IX, No. 10).
- (22) The Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas; *ibid*, Vol. X, No. 1.
- (23) Tiruvellaṅrai inscription of Dantivarman; *ibid*, Vol. XI, No. 15 (See also *ibid*. Nos. 22 and 35).
- (24) Two cave inscriptions at Dalavânûr; *ibid*, Vol. XII, No. 27 (also see *ibid*, No. 28).
- (25) Uruvupalli grant; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff. (See also the Aihole inscription in the same volume, p. 67).
- (26) Mâṅgaḍûr grant; *ibid*. pp. 154 ff.
- (Fa Hian's Kingdom of Dakshina, *ibid*. Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff).
- (See contemporaneous history of Gaṅgas, Bâṇas, Kadambas, Râshtrakûṭas and Western Châlukyas).
- (27) Bâdâmi Pallava inscription; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 99 f.
- (28) Pallava grant of Vijaya-Buddhavarman *ibid*. p. 100 f.
- (29) Pallava grant of Attivarman; *ibid*. p. 102 f.
- (30) Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla; *ibid*. Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff.
- (31) The Chalukyas and Pallavas; *ibid*. pp. 23 ff.
- (32) Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman; *ibid*. pp. 167 ff.
- (33) The probable age of some Pallava remains; *ibid*. Vol. XVII, p. 30 f. (Pallavas and Prâkrit; *ibid*. XXXIII, p. 170).
- (34) Two Pallava copper-plate grants; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 246 ff.
- (35) Pallavas (the later) in Nellore; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 85.
- (36) Pallava antiquities in two volumes by Jouveau Dubreuil.
- (37) The Ancient History of Conjeeveram in the *Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* by K. V. S. Aiyar.

In publishing his paper on the *yûpa* inscriptions of king Mûlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), Dr. J. Ph. Vogel throws out a suggestion that there might have existed a direct intercourse between the ancient Pallava capital Kâñchî and the Archipelago. It is a well known fact that Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Borneo abound in antiquities of Indian origin (See Book VIII in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture).

The revived line of the Chôlas begins with Vijayâlaya who is distinguished by the title Parakêsarivarman. There are copper and lithic records which though not referring directly to his rule, mention him as a Chôla king who had well established himself on the Chôla throne. The Uttama-Chôla plates already referred to in connection with Karikâla mention the 22nd year of a Parakêsarivarman different from the later Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, 'who took Madirai and Îlam' (also referred to in the same inscription). Evidently the earlier Parakêsa is Vijayâlaya to whom also under the same title are attributed two stone records from the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and another from Ukkal.

The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates state that Vijayâlaya captured the city of Tañjâvûr and made it his capital and that he also built in it a temple to the goddess Nisumbhasûdanî (Durgâ). The Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he constructed the city of Tañjâpurî anew. Nos. 672 to 675 and 1071 of Prof. Kielhorn's "*Lists of Inscriptions of Southern India*" are attributed to Vijayâlaya. These come from Conjeeveram, Ukkal, Tirukkôvalûr and Śuchîndram. The first three are places in Tondai-maṇḍalam and the fourth is in the Pândya kingdom outside the limits of the Chôla country.

If the resuscitation of the new Chôla-line of Tanjore was due to the conquests of Vijayâlaya and its expansion in the north and south to those of his son Âditya I. and his grandson Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, respectively, it is highly improbable that the records mentioned above could be attributed to the founder Vijayâlaya. Probably they are to be assigned to Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I.

It is not stated in any of the records, who the enemy was from whom Tanjore was wrested by Vijayâlaya. About the middle of the 8th century A.D. Tanjore and the surrounding country was under the rule of the Muttaraiyan chiefs. In the Śendalai Pillar inscription of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇ, the latter is styled "the king Mâraṇ, the Lord of Tañjai (*Kô-Mâraṇ-rañjai-kkôṇ*) and *Kalvar-Kalvaṇ*², *Tañjai-nar-pugaḷ-âlaṇ*, a Kalva of Kalvas, the distinguished Lord of Tañjai." In another place the following phrase occurs "*niṅkîṇṇa taṇpaṇai-tôṇṇu Tañjai-ttiraṇ pôdi niṇṇâr*" "they (the cultivators) stood in the fields praising the excellence of the city of Tañjai".³ These extracts show that in the 8th century Tanjore was ruled by a family of chiefs known as the Muttaraiyans. From the title Mâraṇ which Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇ held, it may be gathered that he was either of Pândya descent or was a chief, subordinate to that family. At this time there was a great struggle going on between the Pallavas and the Pândyas for the political supremacy of South India. In this disturbed state of affairs, Vijayâlaya seems to have found a good opportunity to defeat the Muttaraiyan chiefs, and make himself the ruler of Tanjore and the surrounding Chôla country.

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 672 and 673.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 143 and 144. It is very likely that in the title *Kalvar-Kalvaṇ* we have to seek the origin of the name Kalabhra. Perhaps Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇ was a member of the latter family which in the Vêḷvikuḍi plates is said to have held the Pândya country under its sway prior to Kaḍuṅgōṇ.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 141.

Âditya I., the son of Vijayâlâya, was the first great Chôla king that extended or rather recovered the ancestral dominions by the conquest of Tondai-maṇḍalam. This event is referred to in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates as follows :—

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava king Aparâjita who possessed a brilliant army, though he was in name Aparâjita (i.e., unconquered) he (i.e., Âditya) took possession of his (i.e., Aparâjita's) beloved country and thus fulfilled the object of his desire.”¹

The Pallava king Aparâjita, allying himself with the Ganga king Prithivîpati I., fought a battle at Śrîpurambiyam, against the Pândya Varaguṇa, in which he defeated the latter though his ally lost his life in the conflict. Aparâjita's epigraphical records being found in the Tondai country up to his eighteenth year, Âditya's conquest of Aparâjita and the invasion of the Pallava dominions must have taken place only after that date. Âditya's occupation of Tondai-maṇḍalam is confirmed by an inscription at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam² (Chingleput district) dated in the 27th year of Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I which ratifies a grant that was formerly made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and renewed by “Vâtâpikonḍa Naraśiṅgappôttaraiyar” (identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vâtâpi).

Again a record of the 24th year of Âditya³ found at Niyamam mentions a grant made by Adigaḷ Gaṇḍaṇ Mârambâvai, queen of Nandippôttaraiyar of the *Pallavatilaka* family. The fact that the Pallava queen made a grant in the reign of the Chôla king, suggests that the Pallavas had been completely subdued by this time, and that Nandippôttaraiyar, the husband of Mârambâvai, was also dead. The conquest of the Tondai-maṇḍalam earned for Âditya the epithet “*Tondai-nâḍu-pâṇṇa* Râjakêsarivarman”, i.e., Râjakêsarivarman who overran Tondai-nâḍu, which is given him in an inscription at Tillasthânam.

Friendly relations appear to have existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas in the reign of Âditya I. In the Tillasthânam record mentioned above, a certain Vikki Annaṇ is stated to have received royal honours from Âditya, as well as from his Chêra contemporary Sthâṇu Ravi⁴.

The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chôla give Âditya the surname Râjakêsarin only and state that he built for Śiva, large number of temples on either side of the river Kâvêri commencing from the Sahya mountain where the river takes its rise right up to the sea where it pours its waters⁵.

The Kayâkumâri inscription supplies us with the information that Âditya was also known by the surname Kôḍandarâma. In later times, this same title was borne by his grandson, prince Râjâditya.

The conquest of the Kongu country by the Chôlas, should also have taken place in the reign of Âditya I. Inscriptions of Parântaka I, the son of Âditya, are found in the

¹ *Below*, p. 419. the Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he killed the Pallava king (perhaps) Aparâjita himself being seated on a mad elephant.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277. Another inscription in a natural cave at Veḍâl in the North Arcot district and still another at Neṅkuṇṇam in the same district have been attributed to Âditya I.

³ *Below*, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

Koṅgu-dēśa but that monarch does not make any claim to have conquered it. Therefore it is not improbable that the conquest of Koṅgu was achieved by Âditya himself¹.

In an inscription at Tirumâlpuram (Tirumâlpêr) dated in the 14th year of the later Chôla king Âditya II., Karikâla, king Parântaka I and his predecessor Âditya I., distinguished by the epithet "Tondaimânârrûr-tuñjîṇa-udaiyâr" (i.e., the king who died at Tondaimânârrûr), are referred to. The place Tondaimânârrûr has been identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with Tondamanâḍ near Kâlahasti in the North Arcot district.² In this village there still exists a temple called Kôḍaṇḍarâmêśvara, also mentioned in its inscriptions by the name Âdityêśvara. In one of the Tondamanâḍ inscriptions reference is made to a "*pallippadai*" (i.e., a shrine built over or near a burial ground) apparently at the same village. It is evident, therefore, that Âditya died at Tondaimânârrûr near Kâlahasti and that his son Parântaka I built a Śiva temple over his ashes³. On the whole, it appears that Âditya had a long and victorious reign during which he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Chôla empire.

Though a Śaiva himself, Âditya seems to have been tolerant of other religions as proved by his Vedâl inscription (No. 92). In his time provision for repairs of tanks proved a special item of charity (No. 93). Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Surêśvarâchârya and a pupil's pupil of the great Śaṅkarâchârya, wrote his *Samkshêpasârîraka* under the patronage of a certain Manukulâditya. It is not unlikely that the king here referred to is Âditya I (who ruled about Śaka 800) of the Manukula (i.e., the Chôla family⁴); cf. names like Manukulachûlâmani-chaturvêdimangalam which occur in inscriptions. The latest year of Âditya found from inscriptions being his 27th and the accession of his successor derived from astronomical calculations being 907 A.D. it may be inferred that Âditya I ruled from at least 879 to 907 A.D.

Âditya, as stated above, was succeeded by his son Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I. Prof. Kielhorn, by calculating the astronomical details of date furnished in one of his inscriptions from Grâmam (North Arcot district), has come to the conclusion that Parântaka I began to reign between the 15th January and 25th July A.D. 907.⁵ This is confirmed by the details of date combined with a total eclipse of the sun given in the Âṇaimalai inscription of his 33rd year (No. 106). He continued the expansion of the Chôla dominions which was begun by his father. In the north, he fought against the Vaidumbas and the Bâṇas who were formerly the feudatories of the Pallavas. The Bâṇas were defeated and their territory was bestowed upon the Gaṅga king Prithivîpati II, along with the title "the Lord of the Bâṇas". The Udayêndiram plates⁶ of Prithivîpati II give us an account of his connection with the Bâṇas and the Gaṅgas.

From his third year onwards Parântaka is called "Madiraikoṇḍa Parakêsarivarman" (i.e., Parakêsarivarman who took Madura) in his inscriptions. This title he assumed after

¹ The *Koṅgudêśarâjakkal* confirms this.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, pp. 71 and 72.

³ This temple deserves to be one of the specially protected monuments of the Archaeological Department.

⁴ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *History of the Deccan*, p. 212.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 260 ff.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. II, p. 375 ff.

his first victory over the Pândyas. It has been already suggested that prior to the rise of the Chôlas to political supremacy in Southern India, the Pallavas and the Pândyas were the dominant powers in the land.

After the Pallavas had been subverted by Âditya I, the Chôlas had to deal with the Pândyas of Madura, before they could claim undisputed sway over the whole of the Southern Peninsula. The power of the Pândyas had by this time grown weak. King Varagunavarman was defeated by the Pallava king Aparâjita at the battle of Śrîpurambiyam and there were also internal dissensions among the Pândyas which weakened their power.

Early therefore, in his reign, Parântaka seems to have conducted campaigns in the Pândya country against Râjasimha-Pândya, the last king of the Pândya line furnished in the Śînnamaṇḍir plates¹, when Madura, the capital of the Pândyas, was captured by him and this gave him the occasion for assuming the title *Madiraiḱoṇḍa*. The Kanyâ-kumâri record says that Parântaka "killed the Pândya with his whole army, robbed him of all his wealth, reduced Madhurâ to ashes and assumed the name Madhurântaka." Verse 9 of the Udayêndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa king Prithivîpati II seems to refer to this event in the following words²:—

"His army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pândya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers seized a herd of elephants, together with Madura."

The Chôla king naturally was very proud of this achievement, as the Pândyas were, till then, the dominant power in the Tamil land the hereditary dominions of the Chôlas themselves being under them. As his first campaign against the Pândyas is referred to in inscriptions of his third year, this event must have taken place in A.D. 909-10. The Vattelettu inscription at Âṇaimalai, 6 miles from Madura, confirms Parântaka's capture of Madura and perhaps also his temporary occupation of it.

Before his 12th year, Parântaka I had to fight a second time with the Pândyas. An inscription³ dated in the 12th year of his reign mentions a battle fought by him at Vêlûr against the combined forces of the Pândyas and Singhalese. When the Pândya king Râjasimha was defeated by the Chôla king in his first campaign, he appears to have besought the Singhalese king to take up his cause. The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates say in this connection:—

"Encircled by the first of whose (i.e., the Chôla king's) prowess, the Pândya king at once entered the sea, as if intent upon quenching that affliction, in haste abandoning his royal glory and his hereditary dominion" (V. 51). Again, the Udayêndiram plates of the 15th year of Parântaka describe the events that followed in these words:— "Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the Lord of Laṅkā which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears, in the world, the title Saṅgrâmarâghava which is full of meaning²." This was, perhaps, "the fierce battle" fought at Vêlûr between Perumânadigaḷ (i.e., Parântaka I) and the allied Pândya and Ceylon kings where four heroes fell on the occasion when Śennippêraraiyaṅ of Araisûr made a frontal attack with his colleagues' enemy, as described in the Tiruppârkaḍal record (No. 99).

¹ See below, No. 206.

² South Ind. Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 387.

³ Below, p. 231.

Turning to the Ceylonese account, *Mahāvamsa*, we find these events corroborated. Chapter LII of that work contains the following account: "King Pāṇḍu, who had warred with the king of Chōla and was routed, sent many presents unto him (i.e., Kassapa V), that he might obtain an army from him and the king, the chief of Laṅkā, took counsel with his ministers and equipped an army and appointing Sakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied it himself to Mahatittha, and he stood on the shore and brought to their minds the victories of former kings, and gave them courage, and thus sent them into the ships. And Sakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea, and reached the Pāṇḍya country and when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased, and exclaimed, 'All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion.' and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōlian race and so he abandoned the struggle and returned (to his own place). The statement here made that the Pāṇḍya king had been defeated in a previous war might refer to the events that took place in or before the third year of Parāntaka I, i.e., A.D. 909. It is also not unlikely that there was still another war between the first and the second encounters here described. These events happened in the reign of Kassapa V who, according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, reigned from A.D. 906 to 916.

Parāntaka I seems to have undertaken yet another campaign in the Pāṇḍya country, and carried his arms farther even to the island of Ceylon. After his 37th regnal year, he is styled "*Madiraiyum Īlamum koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman*", i.e., Parakēsarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. This title was not adopted by him on the occasion of his victory over the allied Singhalese troops described above. The epithet "*Madiraiyum Īlamum koṇḍa*" was adopted only after the 37th year as we gather from inscriptions. A record at Kūram dated in his fortieth year¹ mentions that he actually entered Ceylon (*Īlam-pugunda*). The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates refer to this same fact in the following terms:—

"The fire of whose anger after burning (his) enemies quenched not in the waters of the sea, (but) subsided (only) by the tears of the wives of the Singhalese (king) who was cut to pieces and killed by (his) weapons" (V. 52).

The account of this invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as follows:—

In the reign of Udaya III (A.D. 941-9) who was a weak king addicted to drink and slothfulness, the Chōla king sent an embassy to him, asking for the crown, etc., that the Pāṇḍya king had deposited with him in the reign of Dappula V (A.D. 917 to 929) evidently after the defeat of Vēlūr, so that he may be duly inaugurated as the overlord of the Pāṇḍya country. When this request was refused, the Chōla king sent an army to Ceylon, which slew the commander of the Singhalese forces. The Singhalese king fled to the Rôhāṇa district, taking with him the regal insignia of the Pāṇḍya king. The Chōlas were not able to enter the Rôhāṇa country, and returned to India, without accomplishing the object for which the expedition was undertaken. As Parāntaka's invasion of Ceylon happened only after his 37th year, i.e., A.D. 944, the above account of the *Mahāvamsa* must correctly refer to the conquest of Īlam (Ceylon) by Parāntaka².

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

Towards the close of his reign, Parântaka I seems to have received a check to his victorious career at the hands of the Râshtrakûta king Krishna III. The latter king's invasion of the Chôla country and the capture of Tanjore and Conjeeveram must have taken place during the lifetime of Parântaka. For, Parântaka's son, prince Râjâditya who was the Viceroy in the northern Chôla dominions and was the first to oppose the invader was killed at Takkôlam while fighting from the back of an elephant, by the Gaṅga prince Bâtuga, an ally and a near kinsman of Krishna III. The Kanyâkumâri inscription of Virarâjendra states that Krishna III was actually defeated by Parântaka I. This might refer to an earlier campaign other than the one in which Râjâditya lost his life and the capital towns Kâñchî (Conjeeveram) and Tanjâvûr (Tanjore) belonging to the Chôla king were captured by the Râshtrakûta invader. The last regnal year so far found out for Parântaka is 46, which is taken from a record of his found at Kandiyûr¹. This corresponds to A.D. 953-54. Krishna III is said to have died in the Śaka year 889² and his highest known regnal year is 30. Consequently, he should have ascended the throne at least in Śaka 859 (= 937 A.D.). Dr. Fleet's earliest date for him is 940. He had invaded the Tondai-maṇḍalam before his fifth year as an inscription of his, of that year, is found at a place called Siddhalingamadam. Râjâditya's death occurred in the year 949 to 950 A.D. and the actual entry of Krishna III into Tondai-maṇḍalam is mentioned in a Sôlapuram record³ which states that the second year of that entry corresponded to Śaka 871 (= 949 A.D.). Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Krishna's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D. Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that prior to 949 Krishna III was making attempts to invade the Chôla country and that in one of these he was repelled by Parântaka. About this time, Parântaka, as we already know, had his hands full with the affairs of the Pândyan and Singhalese wars. In the meanwhile, the Râshtrakûta king seems to have pushed through his hostilities vigorously which resulted in the death of the prince. Parântaka seems to have survived his son for about five years.

Parântaka's dominions comprised almost the whole of the Tamil country right up to Nellore (No. 108). By the defeat of the Pândya king Râjasimha, the Pândyas also acknowledged Parântaka as their ruler. That he really held sway over that part of the country is proved by the fact that his inscriptions are found in the Madura and Tinnevely districts. On the east coast, his dominions should have extended as far as Nellore; for one of his Tiruvorriyûr records (No. 108), dated in the 34th year of his reign (= A.D. 941), states that a subordinate of Parântaka named Sembayan Sôliyavaraiyan of Sirukulattûr was returning from the conquest of Śîtpuli after destroying Nellûr. In the west an inscription of his reign has been found at Sômûr near Karur. The Western Gaṅga king Prithivîpati II, whose dominions lay partly in the Mysore State, was his feudatory.⁴ The friendly relations that existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas as already gathered from the Tillasthânam inscription of Âditya I (No. 89) were further strengthened during this reign. One of the queens of Parântaka who bore him the son Arifijaya was a daughter of the Kêraḷa prince Paḷuvêttaraiyar⁵. Queen Villavaṇ Mahâdêviyâr mentioned in a Tirukkalâvûr inscription

¹ No. 2 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895.

² No. 236 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1913.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁴ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, p. 133.

⁵ Aṅbil grant of Sundara-Chôla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50).

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(No. 110) may be identical with this daughter of Paluvēttaraiyar. Two other queens of Parāntaka I were Kilānadigal or Kōkkilānadigal, the mother of Ānaimēruñjīnār Rājāditya and Ādittan Karalippirāṭṭi. In the Grāmam inscription of Parāntaka¹, mention is made of a general of prince Rājāditya, who came from the Kēraḷa country. Several of the Tirunāmānallūr inscriptions also mention natives of Malabar as the personal servants of prince Rājāditya. It appears that he had a special regiment of soldiers or a class of servants called the "Malayāḷa retinue". Princess Ravi-Nīli, the daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāgaḍēva, is reported to have made some offerings to the temple at Tiruvorīyūr in the Chōḷa country². All these facts go to prove that the relations between the Kēraḷas and the Chōḷas during the reign of Parāntaka were of a very cordial nature, and that there was a steady influx of people from Malabar to the Tamiḷ country.

Though this king was engaged for the greater part of his long reign in warlike operations, yet he was not unmindful of the victories of peace. That the internal administration of his country was a matter in which he took a keen interest, is amply proved by the inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, in which the rules for the conduct of the village assemblies were minutely laid down. The village institutions of South India, of course, date from a much earlier period than that of Parāntaka I, but he introduced many salutary reforms for the proper administration of local self-Government.

Nor was the religious side neglected. Many a temple in the Tamiḷ land owed much to his bounty. The booty which he had acquired in his numerous wars he seems to have spent in embellishing the shrine of Natarāja at Chidamḍaram. The Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates say that he covered with gold the "small hall" at Chidamḍaram. He performed the *tulābhāra* and *hēmagarbha* gifts, made grants of land to Brahmins, and built many temples. He was a devout Śaiva in religion, though in accordance with the laudable custom among most of the great Indian monarchs, he was tolerant of all the other creeds that were prevailing within his dominions.

In addition to the surnames which have been already noticed he bore the epithets Vīranārāyaṇa, Vīrakīrti (No. 108), Vīra-Chōḷa, Vikrama-Chōḷa and Irumaḍi-Śōḷa³. We learn from the Uttaramallūr inscriptions that he also bore the following *bīrudas*:—Dēvēndraṇ (lord of the gods), Chakravartin (the emperor), Paṇḍitavatsalaṇ (fond of learned men), Kuñjaramallaṇ (the wrestler with elephants) and Śūrachūḷāmaṇi (the crest jewel of the heroes). He is also said to have resembled the celestial tree in his gifts. One of his sons, Rājāditya, has been already mentioned. Kōḍaṇḍarāma was a surname of this prince as it was of his grandfather Āditya I. The second son of Parāntaka was Gaṇḍarāditya, who figures as the author of one of the hymns in the Tamiḷ *Tiruvīśaippā*. Arikulakēsari, Arindama or Ariñjaya (Ariñjigai in Tamiḷ) was also another of his sons. A still another son of Parāntaka who figures in inscriptions is Parāntakaṇ Uttamaśīli. He does not appear to have lived long enough to succeed to the Chōḷa throne, but appears to have given his name to the village Uttamaśīli-chaturvēḍimaṅgalaṁ in Viḷā-nāḍu and to the irrigation canal called Uttamaśīli-vāykal.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1905-06.

² *Below*, p. 235.

³ *Irumaḍi* or correctly *Iramaḍi* means 'twice' and the epithet signifies that Parāntaka I was the 'second great king in the family,' the first perhaps being his father Āditya I.

From the death of Parântaka I., which must have occurred about the year A.D. 953, to the accession of the great Râjarâja I in A.D. 985, Chôla history is obscure. During this period of 33 years there were five princes who must have occupied the throne. The irregular order of their succession suggests that there must have been internal feuds among the different members of the royal family. We have seen above that the eldest son of Parântaka I, prince Râjâditya, lost his life in the battle of Takkôlam before the death of his father. Therefore, this prince could not have reigned over the Chôla dominions, though it is stated in the Leyden plates that he became king after Parântaka I. It is significant that the Tiruvâlaṅgâdu grant does not make him a ruler.

Parântaka I was perhaps succeeded by his second son Râjakêsarivarman Gaṇḍarâditya. Some inscriptions of a "Madiraikonda Râjakêsarivarman" have been ascribed to Gaṇḍarâditya¹. One of these which is dated in his 8th year (No. 112) mentions Âlvâr Arikulakêsaridêva. The epithet Âlvâr is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time. Another is dated in the 17th year of this king. No event of any importance seems to have taken place in his reign. A part of the Chôla dominions must have been under the Râshtrakûtas. The Chôla power was, for the time being, eclipsed. Hence the paucity of inscriptions during his reign. Some religious hymns extant in Tamil under the authorship of Gaṇḍarâditya are attributed to him. These show that he must have been a king with a religious bent of mind. Gaṇḍarâditya's queen was Udaiyapirâttiyyâr *alias* Mâdêvadigalâr Śembiyaṇ Mâdêviyâr who bore him a son called Madhurântaka Uttama-Chôla. At the time of Gaṇḍarâditya's death, Uttama-Chôla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarâditya had ruled and died. His mother survived her husband for a long time. She seems to have been a pious lady, as she figures in several inscriptions, making donations to various temples.

If Arikulakêsari, Arikêsari, Ariñjaya or Arindama, died before the 8th year of Gaṇḍarâditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakêsari who, as the Aṇbil plates say, was prince Sundara-Chôla born of a Vaidumba princess. He succeeded to the Chôla throne under the name of Parântaka II., and bore the titles Râjakêsarivarman² and Râjêndra. In his stone inscriptions Sundara-Chôla assumes the epithet "*Pândiyanai-churam-irakkina*", i.e., who caused the Pândya king to enter the forest. The large Leyden grant records that he fought a sanguinary battle at Chêûr, but it does not mention the name of the enemy. It also says that his son Âditya II., while yet a boy, played sportively with Vîra-Pândya, as a lion's cub with an infuriated elephant. Therefore, it may be presumed that Âditya-Karikâla was the chosen heir-apparent and that Sundara-Chôla's adversary mentioned above was the Pândya king Vîra-Pândya. It is also worthy of note that after Parântaka I, Sundara-Chôla was the next king that fought with the Pândyas. In an inscription of the reign of Râjarâja I, one of the generals of Sundara-Chôla named Parântakan Śiriyavêlâr *alias* Tirukkappali Pichchan of Koḍumbâlûr is said to have died in a battle-field in Ceylon in the 9th year of *Ponmâligai-tuñjina-dêvar*³, i.e., Parântaka II., the father of Râjarâja I. This campaign in which the general of Sundara-Chôla lost his

¹ Below pp. 246 ff.

² This title suggests that Sundara-Chôla's actual predecessor or elected predecessor must have been a Parakêsarivarman, and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gaṇḍarâditya, bore this surname but may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 121 ff.

life must have occurred during the reign of the Singhalese king Mahinda IV., in whose reign, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter LIV), there was a fight with Vallabha¹, (i.e., the Chôla king), in which it is stated, that Mahinda's general defeated the Chôla army. The date ascribed by Wijesinha to Mahinda IV does not fit in with the time of Parântaka II., but if we deduct the error of 23 years which, according to Dr. Hultzsch has crept into this part of the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, Mahinda's reign would fall into the same period as that of Sundara-Chôla². It is interesting to note that the general Śīriyavêlār or Śīruvêla was a member of the royal family being the son of the daughter of king Parântaka I who was perhaps identical with the Chôla princess Anupamâ, the queen of Samarâbhirâma of the Iruṅgôla race (No. 121). The Aṇbil plates³ which are dated in the 4th year of this king's reign, mention a Brahman minister of his named Aniruddha-Brahmâdhirâja.

As stated already, Sundara-Chôla is referred to in later Chôla inscriptions as *pon-mâligai-tuṅjina dēvar*, i.e., the king who died in the golden palace. He was a very powerful ruler, much loved by his subjects. The Tiruvâlāṅgādū grant says that his subjects believed him to be Manu come to the earth to establish his laws which had become lax under the influence of the Kali age. His queen was Vānavanmahādēvi⁴ who committed *satī* at the death of her husband. Her daughter Kundavai, who had married a Pallava chief named Vandya-dēvar set up an image of her in the temple at Tanjore.

If Gaṇḍarāditya ruled for at least 17 years—that being the latest regnal year obtained from inscriptions for him—and Parântaka I died in 947 A.D., not taking into account the date of a doubtful inscription which gives the 46th year of his reign, the accession of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II will fall in or about 964 A.D. which coincides with the accession of Udaya III of Ceylon, as given in Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th. But from a later inscription of the time of Râjarâja I we learn that in the 9th year of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II a deadly battle was fought in Ceylon, perhaps with Udaya III, in which a general of Sundara-Chôla, by name Śīriyavêlāṇ died. Perhaps, Sundara-Chôla died soon after and we may for the sake of a tentative chronology give him a reign of 10 years. This brings us to A.D. 974.

Between him and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, must be accommodated Parakêsarivarman Âditya II Karikâla, a son of Sundara-Chôla and elder brother of Râjarâja I, and Pârthivêndravarman, Pârthivêndrâdivarman, Pârthivêndrâdhipativarman, Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman, Parakêsari Vêndirâdivarman or the Paramamahârâja Râjamârâyar. Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pândya or Vîra-Pândya—evidently the same Pândya king who was at war with Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II—and the title Parakêsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tondai-maṇḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and Viceroy of Tondai-maṇḍalam. Âditya Karikâla appears to have been the actual successor. He reigned for 6 years and was succeeded

¹ This is a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *Valavan* which is synonymous with the word *Chôla*.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 517 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 to 72.

⁴ Another queen mentioned in inscriptions was Parântakandēvi—Ammaṇâr, the daughter of a Chêra king.

in 969 A.D. by Parakêsarivarman Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gandarâditya. The circumstances under which the crown instead of going to Arunmolivarman Râjarâja I, the younger brother of Âditya II Karikâla, went to Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka are explained in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates.

The successions of Chôla kings from Vijayâlaya to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II have so far presented no difficulty. The statement of the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates regarding the reigns of the princes Râjâditya *alias* Kôḍandarâma and Arikulakêsarî *alias* Ariñjiga or Arindama, sons of Parântaka I, cannot be accepted literally. The one died as Viceroy of Tondai-maṇḍalam even before his father and the other during the reign of Gandarâditya. Before, therefore, going on to the reign of Uttama-Chôla, it is necessary to fix approximately at any rate the period of rule of Sundara-Chôla who succeeded Gandarâditya under the surname Râjakêsarivarman¹ and of his son Parakêsarî Âditya II Karikâla. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th². But we have seen above that in the 9th year of his reign a fierce battle was fought in Ceylon with the king of that island and that the Chôla general Śiriyavêlaṅ fell in it. This shows that Sundara-Chôla should have reigned at least for nine years or roughly ten years, though his dated inscriptions which are later than his 5th year are not forthcoming. When did Sundara-Chôla succeed to the throne?

Parakêsarivarman Âditya II, surnamed Karikâla and Râjarâja I surnamed Arunmolivarman were the two sons of Parântaka II, and Kundavai, his daughter. The Leyden plates say that Âditya II as a boy played sportively in battle with Vîra-Pândya and was his chosen successor to the Chôla throne. In inscriptions he is referred to as Parakêsarivarman who took the head of Vîra-Pândya. It is also stated that he killed the Pândya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory³. He seems to have had a short reign only, as noted in the sequel, and nothing else worthy of note is recorded of him in inscriptions.

We have stated that Parakêsarivaraman Uttama-Chôla Madhurântaka was the son of Gandarâditya and that after the death of his father, he had to wait to ascend the throne till his cousin brother Sundara-Chôla and the latter's son Âditya II Karikâla had reigned and died. It might have been so for the reason that he was an infant at the time of his father's death, or that the troubled state of the country required a man of maturer years at the helm of affairs. At any rate, his claim was set aside for the time being. Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Râjakêsarivarman, his predecessor Âditya II being Parakêsarivarman, he too was called a Parakêsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Râjakêsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed but at the request of his cousin's son Râjarâja I who was the chosen successor. For, according to the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates, after the death of Âditya II Karikâla, the people wanted Arunmolivarman his brother to be their king, but that noble prince refused to accept the offer saying that so long as his uncle Uttama-Chôla was desirous of dominion, he would be satisfied with the heir-apparentship⁴.

¹ The adoption of the title Râjakêsarivarman could be explained by saying that the claims of Gandarâditya's chosen successor, viz., his son Parakêsarivarman Uttama-Chôla were temporarily set aside and postponed.

² No. 122, dated in the 14th year of Râjêkêsarivarman has been attributed to Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II, but may more probably belong to the reign of Râjarâja I.

³ See below, p. 420, V. 68.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, V. 69.

In the Mahalingasvâmin temple at Tiruvīdaimarudûr, there is an inscription which couples the 13th year of Uttama-Chôla with Kaliyuga 4083 thus yielding 969 A.D. as the initial date of his reign. Uttama-Chôla seems to have reigned for at least 16 years, which is the date quoted in the Madras Museum plates of this king.

Râjarâja's achievements are fully described in the introduction to Volume II by Mr. Venkayya. His son was Râjendra-Chôla I, who was a greater monarch than his father and carried the Chôla arms into regions never penetrated before. During the lifetime of his father he seems to have been entrusted with the affairs of the country. No inscriptions of Râjendra-Chôla prior to his third regnal year are found. Evidently, during these three years, he was ruling as co-regent with his father. According to Professor Kielhorn the reign of Râjendra-Chôla commenced between 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D.¹

Between the third year and the twelfth he seems to have undertaken and carried out successfully a vast scheme of conquests in many directions. In some at least of these, he merely acted as a deputy of his father. When he ascended the throne he found the Chôla power firmly established. He had only to carry on to its legitimate conclusion the ambitious scheme of expansion started in the previous reign. Before his father Râjarâja could embark on his career of conquests he had to enlist and train up an army, but Râjendra-Chôla had inherited "the great warlike army" whose services are referred to in every inscription. From some of his Tamil inscriptions it is learnt that this army of his was commanded by Sôlamûvendavêlân and that Narâkkan Râman the commander of Râjarâja's forces and the superintendent of the building operations of the Brihadîsvara temple at Tanjore continued to hold the same office till at least the 32nd year of Râjendra-Chôla². His inscriptions up to the 5th year mention the conquests of Idaiturai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, Kollippâkkai, Manpaikkadakkam and Ceylon. Idaiturainâdu has been identified with Ededore "2,000" lying between the rivers Krishnâ and Tungabhadra comprising a large part of the present Raichûr district. Vanavâsi is identical with Banavâsi in the North Kanara district and Kollippâkkai must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom somewhere in the Hyderabad State, for it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I and Vikramâditya VI, and is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasîmha II³. The capture of Kollippâkkai must have been effected as a result of the war against the Western Châlukya Iṛivabedaṅga Satyâśraya conducted under the direct leadership of Râjendra-Chôla while Râjarâja was yet living. A record of Ūttattûr states that in this war a certain Râjamalla Muttaraiyan who was placed in charge of the elephant troops was killed while piercing the elephant of Satyâśraya under the orders of the king. This must have happened on the occasion when, according to the Hotṭûr inscription⁴, "Nârmaḍi-Chôla" Râjendra (i.e., Râjendra-Chôla I) had collected a force numbering 900,000, had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children and the Brâhmanas, and taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste." The Hotṭûr record is dated in

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 230.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, p. 23.

⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 433.

⁵ The title 'Nârmaḍi' "the hundred times (powerful)" implies not that he was the hundredth powerful king in that family but that he was the most powerful.

A.D. 1007, but the Ūttattūr inscription belongs to the 3rd year (A.D. 1013-14) of Rājendra-Chōla I. We cannot help remarking with regret on the striking infringement of the ancient moralities of war by this king, however great his military achievements were. In place of Mannaikkadakkam the Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājendra-Chōla made Mānyakhēṭa the playground for his armies and accordingly it looks as if Mannaikkadakkam is identical with Mānyakhēṭa, as already suggested by me in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. Mannai-konda-Chōla seems to be one of the surnames assumed by the king in commemoration of his conquest of Mānyakhēṭa (also known as Mannaikkadakkam or simply Mannai). Under this name a pavilion was erected in the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr¹. In all probability Rājendra-Chōla I had to quell some insurrections in these places.

During the reign of Rājārāja I, the Chōla authority was firmly established over the northern half of Ceylon and this is proved by the existence of his inscriptions there and by the grant of revenues of certain villages in Ceylon to the temple at Tanjore which was built by him. Rājendra-Chōla I claims in his inscriptions "to have seized the crown of the king of Īlam on the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crown of his queens, the beautiful crown and the pearl necklace of Indra which the king of the South, i.e., the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with that king of Īlam and the whole of Īla-maṇḍala on the transparent sea." That the Pāṇḍya king deposited his crown and apparel with the king of Ceylon is mentioned in the 53rd chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* and the Pāṇḍya inscriptions mention the necklace of Indra as an heirloom of Pāṇḍya kings. According to the account given in the *Mahāvamsa*, king Mahinda V, in the 36th year of his reign, was captured together with his queen by the Chōla army and sent as prisoner to the Chōla king. Among the booty was the crown that was preserved by inheritance, the priceless diamond bracelet that was a gift of the gods, the sword that could not be broken and the sacred fillet. King Mahinda V died in the 48th year of his accession in the Chōla country after spending twelve years in captivity. So, it becomes clear that Rājendra-Chōla completed the conquest of Ceylon which was begun in the reign of his father. Thereafter for several years Ceylon formed a province of the Chōla empire and was surnamed Mummaḍi-Śōlamandalam, after the well-known surname Mummaḍi-Chōla of Rājārāja I. According to the *Mahāvamsa* these events took place in A.D. 1036, while the Tamil inscriptions show that they must have happened before 1017 A.D. Professor Hultzsch has shown in his article entitled "Contributions to Singhalese chronology" that there is an error of some 23 years in the chronology of this part of the *Mahāvamsa*. Applying this correction, the two accounts which of course refer to the same events, can be made to synchronise.

Between the 5th and the 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla's reign, the province of Malabar was also added to his conquests. The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates state that Rājendra-Chōla appointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya as viceroy of the Pāṇḍya country, as well as of the newly conquered Kēraḷa dominions. He seems to have adopted this step seeing that the Pāṇḍyas had ever been a source of trouble to the Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I. The Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy appointed by him has been identified with Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya whose Mannārkoyil inscription has shown that he was ruling contemporaneously with Rājendra-Chōla I. It may be noted that the appointment of members of the Chōla family as viceroys of conquered territories started by this king was continued in the successive reigns².

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, para 24.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XI, pp. 292 ff.

Between his 7th and 9th years Rājendra-Chōla was engaged in subduing the seven and a half lakhs country of Irattapādi. This was the country of the Western Chālukya kings ruled over at this time by Jayasimha II (A. D. 1018-1042). In his own inscriptions, Jayasimha claims to have defeated the Chōlas. As both of them boast of having defeated each other, the fact ought to have been either that the success was on both sides alternately or that neither of the two obtained lasting advantage. Along with the Kēraḷas he is stated to have taken possession of the island of Sāndimat. What this island is, is not known.

The inscriptions of his twelfth year mention a number of places which do not appear in the list of conquests mentioned in the records of his ninth year. During these three years, he must have carried on an extensive campaign. He is said to have taken Śakkarakōṭṭam, Maduramaṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Māsuniḍēsam and Pañchappalli; to have defeated a certain Indraratha of the lunar race at Ādinagar and to have taken him and his family captive; to have captured Oḍḍa-vishaya and Kōśalai-nāḍu; to have defeated Dharmapāla and annexed Daṇḍabutti; to have subdued Raṇasūra of Takkana-Lādam: to have overcome Gōvindhachandra of Vangālādēśa; to have put to flight Mahīpāla and to have taken Uttara-Lādam and the Gaṅgā.

Of the places mentioned here, it may be noted that Sakkarakōṭṭam has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chakrakōṭṭa, 8 miles distant from Rājapura in the Bastar State, which was under the rule of king Dhāravarsha when Kulōttuṅga I was the Chōla sovereign. Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Maduramaṇḍalam is different from the Pāṇḍya country and that it must refer to the northern Mathura on the Yamunā river.¹ Here it may be noted that one of the kings of Rājapura called himself Madhurāntakadēva perhaps on account of his capture of Madhurā. It is not likely that he could have marched against Madhurā of the south to earn this title. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Madhura or Maduramaṇḍalam was the name of a district not far from Chakrakōṭṭa bordering on the Vēṅgī country. Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Pañchappalli and Māsuniḍēsam have not yet been identified. Professor Kielhorn suggests that Indraratha of the lunar race captured by Rājendra-Chōla at Ādinagar may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaipūr inscription as an enemy of Bhōjadēva of Dhārā. Oḍḍa-vishaya is the province of Orissa and Kōśalai-nāḍu is southern Kōśala. Daṇḍabutti and its ruler Dharmapāla are not known from any other sources. Mr. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that the Takkana-Lādam of the Tamil inscriptions is distinct both from Gujarat (Lāṭa) and the territory of southern Bêrār (Virāṭa), and that it should correspond to Dakshina-Rāḍha a part of modern Bengal.² Uttara-Lādam must, accordingly, denote the northern part of it. Mahīpāla whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Professor Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahīpāla I.

Most of the places mentioned here were conquered by Rājendra-Chōla I in his campaign against the north for the purpose of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges, which earned for him the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōla. The object of Rājendra-Chōla in undertaking this campaign is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant thus³ :—

“This light of the solar race, laughing at Bhagīratha who had brought down the Ganges to the earth from heaven by the power of his austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges. Accordingly, he ordered the commander of the army, who had powerful battalions under his control, who was the resort of heroism and the foremost of diplomats, to subdue the enemy kings occupying the countries on the banks of that river.”

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 3 IX, p. 230.

² *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, p. 7 f.

³ *Below*, p. 424, Vv. 109 and 110.

The conquest of Northern India by the Chôlas must have taken place in 1023 A.D. The above account shows that it was a general of the Chôla king who conducted this campaign. But it is somewhat difficult to believe how a single Chôla army could overrun within one year such a vast tract of country. It is also said that after vanquishing the kings of the Gangetic countries Râjendra-Chôla's general caused the water of the sacred river to be brought to the Chôla capital on the heads of the conquered kings¹. A stone record of the king found at Ennâyiram in the South Arcot district contains interesting information regarding the conquest of the northern region by the king himself, of his stately return march with all the splendour of the conqueror, of his wedding the Gaṅgâ and hence assuming the title Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla and building a hall called after the title at Ennâyiram and feeding a number of people in it. The wording of the inscription seems to indicate that Râjendra-Chôla I was himself engaged in the expedition against the kings of Northern India (*Uttarâpatha*) and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he did not entrust the management of it merely to his generals as the wording of the Tiruvâlaṅgâdu plates at first sight would imply². Though the date of the record is effaced, the conquests enumerated in it show that it cannot be earlier than A.D. 1023. It is interesting to note that charities which it registers for the maintenance of a hostel and a college for religious instruction of every description, were made to secure success to the arms of the king, showing clearly that the king was at the time engaged in the war. It must have been during this northern invasion that Râjendra-Chôla had the lords of the Kulûta and the Utkala countries slain by his generals as reported in the Kanyâkumâri inscription³. The encounter with the Kulûta king is also referred to in an inscription of the king found at Mahêndragiri where he is said to have set up a pillar of victory. The Kanyâkumâri inscription adds Kalinga to the list of the king's conquests. After this invasion of northern India there seems to have been considerable communication between the kings of northern India and the Chôla country. During the reign of Râjâdhirâja I, the son and successor of Râjendra-Chôla I, the title "Protector of the people of Kâṇṇakuchchi" (Kanyâkubja, *i.e.*, Kanauj) was bestowed on one of the royal princes. This shows that Kanauj had close relations with the Chôlas. In an inscription of Kulôttuṅga I found at Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram, the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the Gâhaḍavâla king Gôvindrachandra occurs after the name of the Chôla king. As the *prasasti* of the Gâhaḍavâla king was put in after the name of Kulôttuṅga I, it seems as if the Chôlas had some sort of suzerainty over that northern power.

In commemoration of this memorable campaign in which the waters of the Gaṅgâ were carried on the heads of the subdued kings, the Chôla king founded a new city, which he called Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram. In this city, Râjendra-Chôla built a great temple on the model of the Râjarâjêśvara temple at Tanjore, built by his father. This city was the capital of Chôla emperors for about 100 years. Its original name seems to have been Mudikondachôlapuram, after another surname of the king, and afterwards changed into that of Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram. It had also the name Gaṅgâpurî.

Great as were the military achievements of Râjendra-Chôla I in the mainland of India, he acquired even greater fame by his naval engagements, which took place on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, a feat not attempted by any sovereign of India till his time. It is said

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1911-12, p. 173.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1918, paragraph 25.

³ *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p. 157.

that he despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea, captured Saṅgrāmaṣṭuṅavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, along with his vehicles and accumulated treasure, took Śrī-Vishaya, Pannai, Malaiyūr, Māyirudiṅgam, Ilāṅgāsōkaṁ, Māppappālam, Mēvilimbaṅgam, Valaippandūru, Takkōlam, Mādamaliṅgam, Ilāmuriḍēśam, Nakkavāram and Kaḍāram. Saṅgrāmaṣṭuṅavarman, the king against whom this war was waged with great advantage to the Chōlas was probably a successor of Māraṣṭuṅavarman of the *Sailēndravāṁśa*, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya, who while extending the kingdom of Kaṭāha, is reported in the Leyden plates to have built a lofty and beautiful monastery at Nāgappattanam and called it Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra, after the name of his father Chūḍāmaṇivarma. Since it is stated in the plates that both Rājarāja I. and Rājēndra-Chōla I. patronised the *viḥāra*, it appears that Saṅgrāmaṣṭuṅavarman, proving refractory, Rājēndra-Chōla had to take the extreme step of conquering the whole of his kingdom—in which must have been included all the places mentioned above—and depriving him of his wealth. It is also learnt that Rājēndra-Chōla (*Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo*) sent an embassy to China, though we do not know what his intentions were in that direction¹.

Among the places mentioned in the final campaign of the king, Śrī-Vishaya or Śrī-Vijaya has been taken to be the same as *San-fo-tsai* of the Chinese annals and identified by Mr. George Coedes with the residency of Palambang in Sumatra; Nakkavāram and Pappālam stand respectively for the Nicobar islands and a port of that name in Burma; Takkōlam has been identified with Takōpa on the western part of the Malay Peninsula and Kaḍāram is located in lower Burma. Rest of the places are not known.

We shall here notice a few facts concerning the relations of Rājēndra-Chōla I. Kundavai, the eldest sister of his father married a chief named Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, who figures as a feudatory in some of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I. The king's sister, the younger Kundavai, was married to the Eastern Chālukya Vimalāditya and this prince was in the Chōla dominions for some time, though the object of his mission is not known. Rājēndra-Chōla had several queens. One of them was Pañchavanmahādēvī; another was Danti-Pirāṭṭiyār² and a third Vīramahādēvī. Of the last, an inscription of Rājādhirāja states that she entered the supreme feet of Brahmā (i.e., died) in the very year of demise of Rājēndra-Chōla I and was buried in the very tomb of that king³. This tomb in which the bodies of the two royal personages were deposited might possibly have been at Brahmādēśam in the North Arcot district. As the record is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja, it is inferred that, Rājēndra-Chōla died in that year, i.e., A.D. 1044 and that his queen Vīramahādēvī committed *satī* and was buried with him⁴. The Kanyākumārī inscription settles the relationship of Rājēndra-Chōla I and his successors Rājādhirāja, Rājēndradēva and Vīra-Rājēndra. It states that like unto the three fires of a sacrifice there were born to Rājēndra-Chōla I three sons of whom the first was Rājādhirāja and that Rājēndradēva and Vīra-Rājēndra were his younger brothers⁵. Ammaṅgā was the name of his daughter who married the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I: their son was Kulōttuṅga I.

¹ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 257.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912-13, p. 98.

³ No. 260 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1915

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, paragraph 14.

⁵ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III., p. 120.

King Rājendra-Chôla I struck coins in his own name. They are referred to in his inscriptions under the names Rājendrasôlan-kâsu and Madurântakadêvan-mâdai. Besides these, Râjarâjan-kâsu issued in the time of Râjarâja I was also current in his time¹.

Of the literary activity displayed in the Chôla country during the period of Rājendra-Chôla's rule, we know very little. Śaiva works of the type of *Siddhāntasārāvalī* must have been largely written and patronised by the king who was himself a devout Śaiva. Jaina and Buddhist literature also had its share of royal patronage. From the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* of the Mahāthêra Ânanda, a manuscript of which has been reviewed by Dr. Barnett in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1901, pp. 87 to 90, it may be inferred that the king lent his patronage to Buddhist literature. Dr. Barnett thought that the Chôla-Gaṅgā mentioned in the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* was identical with Anantavarman Chôdagaṅga. This could not be, for, in the first place, the latter is not a Chôla but an Eastern Gaṅga king who ruled at Kalinganagara which has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Pârlakimedi estate, Ganjam district. Pāṇḍubhūmaṇḍala is stated to be the country where Chôla-Gaṅga was ruling as a *sāmānta* (a subordinate ruler) perhaps as the viceroy of his father. This fact makes the chances of his identity with Anantavarman Chôdagaṅga very problematical. Consequently, a different identification has to be sought for. The king mentioned is in my opinion the famous Chôla emperor Rājendra-Chôla I who was also called Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla on account of his having subdued the country about Gaṅgai, i.e., the Ganges. His conquests, as we know, were many and spread practically over the whole of India and extended even to Ceylon. The Tiruvālaṅgādu grant clearly states that Rājendra-Chôla I, also called Madhurântaka, took possession of the wealth of the Pāṇḍya king, placed there his own son Chôla-Pāṇḍya for the protection of the Pāṇḍya country, and that he constructed in his capital the tank called Chôlagaṅgam evidently so named after one of his own titles. This last fact decisively proves the identity of the king mentioned in the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* with king Rājendra-Chôla I. The name Guṇākara-Perumpalli which the king is stated to have given to one of the three *viḥāras* which he founded in Ceylon also clearly indicates that the builder was a Tamil king.

Rājendra-Chôla I succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1012 and ruled till at least A.D. 1044. His position as a *sāmānta* in the Pāṇḍya country must have been during the early years of his heir-apparentcy prior to A.D. 1012. The identification of Chôlagaṅga with Rājendra-Chôla will thus alter the dates and the identification of the Mahāthêra Ânanda, the author of *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*.

In addition to the surnames Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla, Muḍigonda-Chôla and Chôlagaṅga, which have been noticed above, Rājendra-Chôla also had the surnames Madhurântaka, Nigarili-Chôla and Paṇḍita-Chôla. The last name shows that he must have been considered a scholar in Sanskrit. It is also stated in the *Siddhāntasārāvalī* of Trilôchanaśivāchārya that Rājendra-Chôla on the occasion of his visit to the Ganges saw there the best of the Śaivas and brought them with him and settled them at Kāñchī and other places in the Chôla country. Information about Rājādhirāja and his successors could be gathered from the elaborate introductions to their inscriptions given by Prof. Hultzsch in parts I, II and III.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913, paragraph 23.

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